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Dorab Saklatwalla Memorial Series No. II.

PARSIS OF ANCIENT INDIA.

With References from Sanskrit Books, Inscriptions, &c.

BY

SHAPURJI KAVASJI HODIVALA, B.A.

(AUTHOR OF ZARATHUSHTRA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES IN THE RIGVEDA.)

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DEDICATED

TO

THE SACRED MEMORY

OF

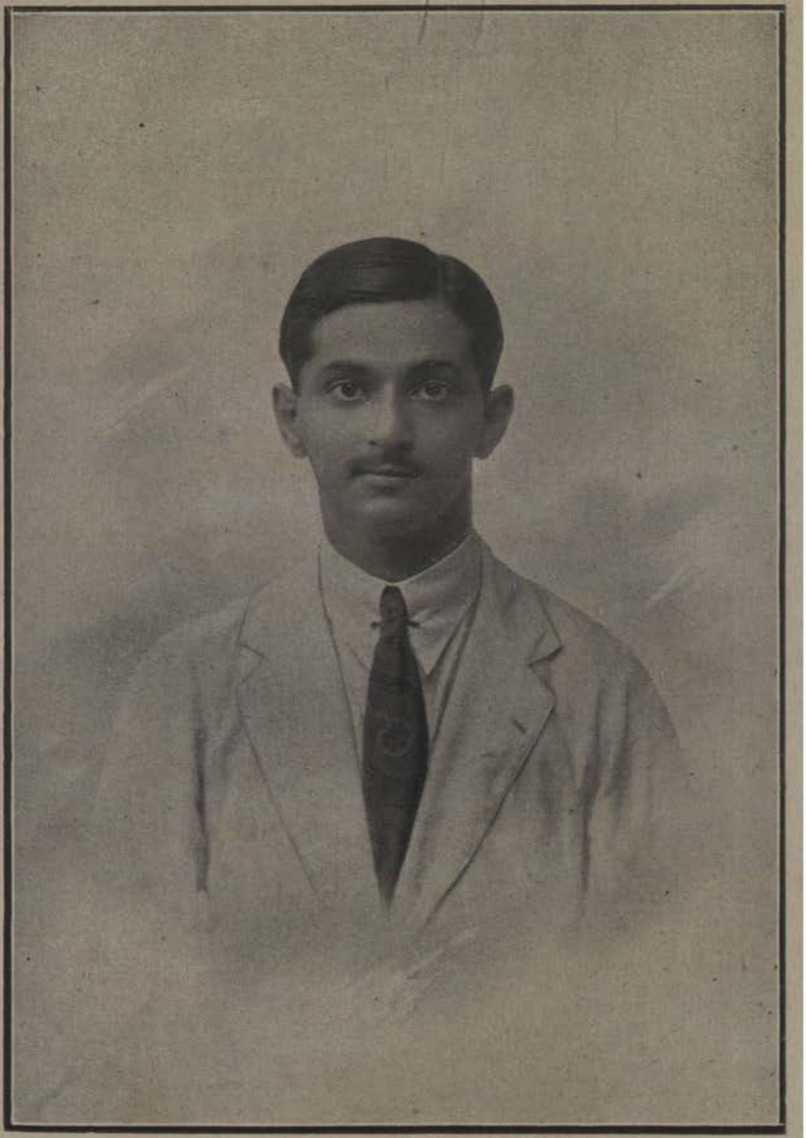
The Late Mr. Dorab Jamsetji C. Saklatwalla

A PROMISING YOUTH AND
A GOOD FRIEND

SUDDENLY CUT OFF IN THE PRIME OF HIS LIFE.

"Our highest Religion is named the 'Worship of Sorrow.' For the son of man there is no noble crown, well worn or ill worn, but is a crown of thorns."

Carlyle.



Born
18-9-1890.

S. J. Sakkubhoola

Died
20-1-1919.

PREFACE.

BY

MR. M. P. KHAREGHAT, I.C.S. (Retired.)

This book consists of a number of papers on various subjects, all bearing on the connection of Iranians with India from the most ancient times upto about the sixteenth century after Christ. It is evidently the result of extensive study, patient compilation and thought. The author Mr. Hodivala has written as a scholar for scholars, in most cases fully quoting his authorities. But his book will also be interesting to the general reader, especially Parsi, with a taste for history or antiquities. The author has done me the honour of asking me to write the preface, and I have accepted the task after some hesitation, as I have doubts about my fitness for it. I have set down below my views about some of the many subjects dealt with by the author likely to be of interest to the reader. As some of the subjects are of a controversial nature, views are likely to differ, and the author has very fairly told me to express mine even though they may not coincide with his. But my main object has been to supplement, not criticise.

The Aryans.

From the very great similarity in the ancient languages, thoughts, traditions, rituals, and ways of life of the Iranians and Aryan Indians it has been inferred that their ancestors must have formed a common nation at one time, and there is such a mass of evidence to support this inference, that it is commonly accepted by scholars. On the other hand, the theory that the Zoroastrians were a colony from northern India, that a schism took place there, and the Zoroastrians migrated westwards is one not commonly accepted. The belief commonly accepted and based on a large amount of evidence is that after the ancestors of the Indians came to India, the Iranian and Indian branches, although in some contact, developed independently, that the separation took place long before the time of Zoroaster, that Zoroaster was an Iranian and did all his work on Iranian soil among Iranian peoples.

Parsu and Prithu.

That the Persians or Parthians are mentioned by name in the Rigveda is extremely doubtful. Both tradition and modern scholarship are opposed to this view.* In Rv. I-105-8 पर्शवः very probably means "ribs," and in Rv. VII-83-1 पृथुपर्शवः "with broad sickles." In Rv. VIII-6-46 पर्शु is a proper noun, but that it means "Persian" there is nothing to show.

In this connection it must be remembered that the appellation "Persian" came to be applied to the whole Iranian nation only after the rise of the Persian Achæmenians, long after the period of the Rigveda. Before then, it was confined to the people of Persis, the modern Fars, a region in the south-west of Iran, very far from India, and the Iranians called themselves by the name Airya, corresponding to the Indian आर्य Arya. The name of Persia does not occur even in the Avesta; much less is it likely to occur in the Vedas.

* See Sâyana's commentary on the three verses of the Rigveda quoted at page 2 of this book; also the articles Parsu and Prithu in Macdonell and Keith's Vedic Index, and the authorities quoted there, and the same words in Monier—Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Further, the Persians called themselves पार्स Pârsa as in the Behistun inscriptions, and the Hindus were not likely to change that word to पर्शु Parśu; in later times they had no difficulty in adopting the correct word पारसीक Pârasîka.

For the reason last mentioned and in the absence of other evidence it is also difficult to believe that the tribal name पर्शु used by Pânini referred to the Persians, although it is likely he knew the Persians, as he belonged to the extreme northwest of India and probably flourished about 300 B. C." (Macdonell's Sanskrit Litarature, p. 431). Pânini's Parśu would seem to have been a local tribe.

The theory that the Persians were known as Parsuas by the Assyrians is denied by a competent authority Ed. Meyer in the following words in his article on Persis in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition, Vol. XXI, p. 253:—"The Persians are not mentioned in history before the time of Cyrus; the attempt to identify them with the Parsua, a district of the Zagros chains south of Lake Urmia, often mentioned by the Assyrians is not tenable." He has made a similar statement in his article on Persia, Ancient History, in the same book, p. 203.

Pahlava.

The name Pahlava पह्लव is generally believed to have been applied in India to the Parthians. The Iranian word Pahlav is derived by philologists from Parthava, and seems to have been applied in the first instance in Iran to Parthian magnates under the Arsacides and from them to have been transferred later to the heroes of ancient Iran.*

We know from classical authors that there were Parthian rulers in India about the beginning of the Christian era, and a class of coins found in and near India bearing usually legends in Greek and the Indian Kharoshthi script and Iranian names are attributed to these rulers, who are called Indo-Parthian by modern scholars.* In Indian inscriptions and literature the Pahlavas are often mentioned with the Śakas and Yavanas, foreigners who came into India about the same period within a few hundred years. It is inferred from these three facts, *viz.* (1) the practical identity of the Iranian name Pahlav with the Indian Pahlava, (2) the existence of Parthian rulers in India, and (3) the conjunction of the Pahlavas with the Śakas and Yavanas in Indian literature, that the Pahlavas were Parthians, and the inference is justifiable. On the other hand it has to be noted that there does not appear to have been found upto now any coin bearing the word Pahlava, nor any inscription or writing mentioning a Pahlava with an indubitable Iranian name.† The name of the Pahlava in Rudradâman's inscription at Girnar mentioned at page 11 of this book cannot be called indubitably Iranian.

That the Pallavas पल्लव of Southern India were identical with the Pahlavas पह्लव is a theory based on slender foundations, and denied by V. Smith in the second edition of his work p. 423, where he writes:—"The name Pallava resembles Pahlava so closely that Dr. Fleet and other writers have been disposed to favour the hypothesis that Pallavas and Pahlavas were

* See Ed. Meyer's article Parthia in the Encyclopædia Brit. 11th Ed., Vol. XX, p. 871, and E. Wilhelm's article on Parthia translated by Dastur Rustomji in the Dastur Hoshung Memorial Volume, p. 322 ff.

* See Vincent Smith's Early History of India 2nd Edition, p. 224 ff. This book will be referred to later simply as V. Smith's History.

† This is so far as I know, but I may be wrong. Of course such a name may be found in the future, and would supply very good confirmation of the identification.

identical, and that consequently the Southern Pallava dynasty of Kânchi should be considered as of Persian origin. But recent research does not support this hypothesis, which was treated as probable in the first edition of this work, and it seems more likely that the Pallavas were a tribe, clan, or caste which was formed in the northern part of the existing Madras Presidency, possibly in the Vengi country, between the Krishnâ and the Godâvari."

Parasîka.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the word Pârasîka पारसीक means Persian. The whole word including the suffix with the long vowel would seem to be Iranian, Pârsîk being the Pahlavi term for an inhabitant of Pârs, *i.e.* the ancient Persis or modern Fars. It is possible that the word came into use in India only after the restoration of Persian power under the Sassanians in the third century after Christ. The instances of its use in India do not seem to be previous to the fifth century or perhaps the fourth. Kâlidâsa who has used it probably flourished in the fifth century.* It is given as the epithet of a Persian horse in the Amara Kosa, which may date from about 500 A. D. according to Macdonell (p. 433), or from the fourth century according to Pathak (B. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXIII, p. 280). The passages of the Vishnu Purâna and Mahâbhârata, which mention the Pârasîkas also refer to the Hûnas and are hence probably not older than the fifth century, as the Hûnas broke into India in that century (V. Smith's History p. 289). The Mudrâ Râkshasa was written in the eighth century, and the Kathâ—Sarit-Sâgara in the twelfth, and the fact that they connect the Pârasîkas with events which occurred some centuries before Christ is of very little weight; they are works of imagination, and the authors, seeming to mean only northern freigners in general, have named those known to them in their own times, the Sakas being included in the list of the former, and the Hûnas and Turushkas in that of the latter.

The Sanjan Landing.

There is no good reason to doubt the tradition that the great majority of Parsis now living in India are descended from a band of Iranian refugees, who landed at or near Sanjân in the early centuries of the Yazdajardi Era, and were given asylum there by a Hindu ruler. But the date of this landing and the identity of the Hindu ruler are matters of dispute, about which various theories have been put forward from time to time. In Chapter 6 of this book Mr. Hodivala has sought to establish, that the landing took place about A. D. 697 in the reign of the Châlukya king Vinayâditya of Badami, and that the Hindu ruler who is called Jâdî Rânâ in the Kisse-i-Sanjan was either Vijayâditya, son and heir-apparent of Vinayâditya, or Jayâshraya cousin and subordinate of Vinayâditya with his head-quarters at Navsâri. This inference is based on the fact that in three of his grants Vijayâditya has described his father Vinayaditya as having levied tribute from several persons including a Pârasîka or Pârasîkas. The words are the same in all three grants, and may mean either "a king of a Persian island," or "King of Persians," or simply "Persians." It is possible that there is here an allusion to the payment of tribute by the Parsi refugees, who landed at Sanjan but having regard to the extremely vague language used,* one can hardly say

* See Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, p. 325, and the foot-note in V. Smith's History, p. 288.

* To give an idea of this vagueness I will mention a few interpretations, which can be plausibly put on it. It is quite

more. If there had been any reference to Sanjan or a landing of Parsis or to giving asylum to Parsis within the king's own territory, there would have been good reason to connect the language with the event in question. Some of the other theories about the same subject are just as possible as Mr. Hodivala's, but in my humble opinion none can be regarded as beyond reasonable doubt. However in trying to establish these theories their authors, as in the present case, have brought to notice a large number of interesting facts buried in out-of-the-way books, or put old facts in a new light. and this is service which all Parsis must acknowledge with thanks. It is quite possible that new facts may be discovered, which in combination with those already brought out by them, may eventually solve the problems they have attempted and many others.

The Mewar Inscription.

The Mewâr inscription referred to in Chapter 8 is worth noting, but the theory that Arisinha fought against Alauddin with the help of Parsis seems hardly tenable. The original translation by the Bhavnagar Archæological Department is quite natural, and the word Pârasîka seems to have been used for the Mahomedans with whom Arisinha fought. It is true that Turushka is the usual term applied to Mahomedans by Hindu writers, but this is not always the case. In this book there is quoted at page 122 another inscription coming from this very province of Mewâr of about the same period as the one in question in which the Mahomedans have been called Saka and Yavana. There was better reason to use the term Pârasîka, for the invaders used the Persian language, and some of them may have even been natives of Persia, although Mahomedan in religion. There is no mention of any Parsi allies of Arisinha either in the Rajput or Mahomedan records, to say nothing of Parsi tradition; such omission would hardly have occurred, if the help was of such importance, that it deserved special mention in a poem in praise of the family, when none of the other helpers, even those of Arisinha's own family and race, are mentioned. Further whence could the poet have got such information nearly two centuries after the event?

If the theory is untenable, naturally so are the inferences drawn from it in this Chapter, such as that there was no battle at Sanjan.

The Sixteen Slokas.

The 16 Sanskrit Slokas (षोडश श्लोकाः) contain an account of the Parsi religion and customs, as it is supposed to have been given to Jâdi Râná by the Parsi emigrants. They have been rendered accessible to Parsi readers by Mr. Hodivala, who has edited them with his own and previous English and Gujarati translations and a Sanskrit commentary in the Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume and allowed the greater part of the same to be reprinted with Mr. R. B. Paymaster's edition

possible that it refers to the levy of tribute from Nestorian Christians from Persian territory as conjectured at first by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. (See V. Smith's History p. 222). It is quite possible that it refers to an embassy from a Persian chief either Mahomedan or Zoroastrian with complimentary gifts, which patriotism has interpreted as tribute; or perhaps it was payment for commercial purposes or services rendered It is even possible that the tribute consisted of nothing more than import dues levied on goods or ships coming from Persian ports; for this very reason the Gujarat Sultans considered the ports of Persia, Arabia, China, and even Malta as paying tribute to them. (See Bayley's History of Gujarat, pages 18 and 19).

of the Kisse-i-Sanjan.* An edition of the *Slokas has also been prepared from various manuscripts by the late well-known scholar Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, which will be shortly published by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat of Bombay. The oldest manuscript known, which contains only the first two *Slokas, was written between 1654 and 1694 A.D. Other manuscripts containing all the 16 *Slokas are of the 18th century or later, and some of them give the name of the author as Akâ Dhâru or Ako Adhyâru आको अध्यारु. Among the latter is one of A. D. 1767 containing a Sanskrit commentary, the Hindu author of which calls himself *Sivarâma in his opening verse of homage to *Siva.† Under ordinary circumstances the epithet Adhyâru ‡ would have given rise to the inference that the author was a Parsi priest, but Ako is not a common Parsi name, and the contents of the *Slokas, as will be presently seen, point to a Hindu rather than a Parsi as the author; at least, if he was a Parsi, he seems to have lost touch to some extent with Parsi doctrine and sentiment. As to the age of the *Slokas one can make no definite assertion, save that they were known towards the end of the seventeenth century A. D. It is possible that they were written some centuries before, but at present there appears no reliable ground for asserting so.

In Chapter 9 of this book Mr. Hodivala has compared with minuteness the account of the Parsi religion in the Kisse-i-Sanjan written by Bahman Kaikobad in A D 1599 with that in the 16 *Slokas of Ako, and while fully appreciating the value of his work, I regret, I cannot agree with his conclusions. The resemblance between the works of Bahman and Ako seems no more than what would be due to the sameness of the subject, whereas the difference in treatment is so great as to leave little doubt that neither copied or attempted to copy the other in detail, even if he knew of the other's work. Bahman's work is more orderly and logical, and is

*An English translation of the *Slokas published in 1808 by Dr. Drummond in his Gujarati and Marathi Grammar, and a Gujarati transliteration and translation published in 1826 by Dastur Aspandiarji of Broach in his famous book about the Kabisa have been reprinted in Mr. Paymaster's book, which also contains an old Gujarati translation, the language of which seems to be of the 17th or early 18th century. An English translation based principally on materials supplied by Dastur Hoshang of Poona was published in 1872 by Dr. Burgess in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. I, p. 214), The *Slokas as found in a manuscript in Kathiawad were brought to the notice of the Rajkot Gujarati Sâhitya Parishad in 1909 by Mr. B. E. Enti of Bhavnagar, and published by him under the name of Pârsi Smriti with a modern Gujarati translation made by a Hindu scholar.

† The information in the last three sentences is derived from the materials collected by Sheriarji. There are undated manuscripts, but none can be said to be earlier than the 18th century. It is *Sivarama's Sanskrit commentary of 1767 A. D. which Mr. Hodivala has published but without the opening verse containing his name. Sheriarji has also included it in his edition from a modern copy of the same made in 1887 but containing the opening verse as well as original colophon of 1767.

‡ Ako Adhyâru may be the name of a Hindu. My friend Mr. N. B Divatia, a recognised authority on the Gujarati language, informs me that Ako is a Hindu name, though not a common one, for example, a Pol (street) in Ahmedabad is named from one Akâ Sheth. He also informs me that the word Adhyâru, besides being the surname of some Hindu families, is applied to a Hindu priest, who at present performs the humble functions of delivering invitations to dinners, caste-meetings, and the like. The word may be derived from the Sanskrit Adhvaryu, and Mr. Divatia is prepared to accept this derivation at present in spite of some philological misgivings. An Adhvaryu is a priest who institutes the Adhvara sacrifice. This name is especially applied to the Soma sacrifice. As the Parsi Haoma ceremony, the most important part of the Yasna (Ijashni) ritual, is the equivalent of the Hindu Soma, one can understand how a Parsi priest came to be called Adhvaryu.

entirely in consonance with Parsi doctrine, sentiment, and custom, whereas Ako's is not so on various points, which I proceed to note.

(*a*) Bahman begins, exactly as a Parsi would, with the name of God as the first object of worship and foundation for all the rest. On the contrary Ako begins with the name of the sun, then refers to the five elements of Hindu philosophy, and puts Hormazd in the third place. The order is not accidental, for in Hindu poetry, with which Ako seems familiar, it is a rule to put in the baginning the name of the chosen deity इष्टदेवता. To Ako, either for himself or for the Parsis, the sun was the chosen deity, not Hormazd.

(*b*) Ako puts in the second place for worship the five elements पंचतत्वं of Hindu philosophy, *viz*, ether, air, fire, water and earth. The Parsi religion does not recognise the doctrine that these five elements constitute the material world and are hence entitled to worship. One of them, *viz.*, ether* is unknown to it. It is true that Bahman also prescribes reverence for the sun, moon, fire and water, but as he explicitly states, it is because they are objects of God's good creation with good qualities, and God has himself ordained their worship.

(*c*) In the first *Sloka* Hormazd is referred to as Suresa सुरेश "ruler of the gods," an expression hardly suitable to mono-theistic Parsis, who have therefore in their Gujarati translations altered "gods" to "angels." The Hindu writer of the Sanskrit commentary as well as the Hindu translator of Mr. Enti's manuscript have used the proper synonym for Sura, *viz.* Deva "god." It is probably for the same reason that Sheriarji has substituted the reading Mahesha महेश "the great ruler" for Suresa in spite of all the manuscripts.

(*d*) In the third *Sloka* Ako compares the kusti to a snake, an idea entirely foreign and even repulsive to a Parsi, for the snake is a prominent object of the evil creation.* The idea belongs to the Maga sun-worshipers of India, and is fully developed in the Bhavishya Purâna (Chapter 142 of the first Parva), where the sacred girdle is derived from the snake Vâsuki.

(*e*) The 6th *Sloka* lays down pure dualism putting Hormazd and Ahriman practically on an equality.† An ordinary post-Sassanian Parsi would hardly use such language; he would usually indicate in some way that the evil one was inferior, limit-

* आकाश in this case is not the sky, but ether called in the *Sloka* आद्यं "the first," which is the position of this element in Hindu philosophy.

*As the simile appears in the texts of Dastur Aspandiarji and Mr. Enti, in the old Gujarati translation and that of Dr. Drummond, there is little doubt that it belongs to the original. The fact that it does not appear in some manuscripts including the one with the commentary is probably due to the sentiment noted above; the wording would seem to have been purposely altered. It is possible that the idea was repeated in the 18th *Sloka*, as the reading Nâga of Mr. Enti's manuscript for the obscure Yoga of the rest suggests; but it does not seem safe to base this conclusion on the reading of a single manuscript when opposed to others.

†I am responsible for the emendation निरवधि for the obscure नरावधि of the manuscripts, and for the interpretation of this *Sloka* adopted in this book by Mr. Hodivala. It seems to mean "we are the Parsis in whose doctrine are mentioned the two limitless beings, the creator and the destroyer, (respectively) made of light and darkness, like joy and sorrow, happiness and unhappiness, knowledge and ignorance, religion and irreligion, pure and impure (?), health and disease, above and below." I have since found that Sheriarji has put a similar interpretation on this passage, namely, as a description of Hormazd and Ahriman, but he has substituted for नरावधिपुरुषौ the expression नरयुगलसमौ, which does not occur in any manuscript. The argument in the text above will hold good even without the emendation निरवधि.

ed, and subject to destruction. There is no such indication in the *Slokas*.

(*f*) Both Dastur Aspandiarji and Mr. Enti read Deva Pûjâ देवपूजा in the third line of the 7th *Sloka* for "worship of God." The use of the word Deva for God does not prove that the writer preceded Neriosengh Dhaval, as Mr. Hodivala suggests, for the Iranian word Dev had its evil significance long before Neriosengh. Its use only proves that the writer was not fully in touch with Parsi sentiment.

(*g*) Mr. Hodivala has himself drawn attention to the peculiar Hindu expressions Jâhnvî-Snâna in the 13th *Sloka*, Pancha-gavya in the 14th and Hormizda-mukham in the 16th, and I will not repeat his remarks. As the *Slokas* were written presumably for the information of Hindus, the use of such expressions as Pitri, *Srâddha* and Homa for equivalent Parsi terms would be natural even for a Parsi, but this explanation can hardly apply to the terms just mentioned, and still less to the other facts noted above.

Not only is Ako's work unconformable to ordinary Parsi doctrine and sentiment, but also as remarked above, it is less orderly than Bahman's. Bahman has dealt with each subject in its place, first the objects of worship, primarily Hormazd and next his creatures, after that the Sudra and Kusti, and last the observances of women in the state of ceremonial impurity caused by different circumstances in due order. On the other hand Ako has dealt with the same subject in two or more different places, *e. g.* the objects of worship in the 1st and 12th *Slokas*, the Sudra and Kusti in the 3rd and 13th, et cetera, and has mixed up a number of other matters with the subject of ceremonial impurity, which itself has been treated in a confused and imperfect manner.*

It has been suggested that verse 170 is a repetition by Bahman of verses 168 and 169, because the 12th *Sloka* is a repetition of the 1st. The latter is a repetition, but the former is not. Verses 168 and 169 refer to respect and appreciation, whereas verse 170 refers to worship; the two are not identical, the latter being a consequence of the former.† The preceding arguments are I believe sufficient to show that Bahman has not copied Ako.

Many of the facts noted above make it doubtful whether Ako was a Parsi. No strong inference can be drawn as to Parsi authorship from the use of Parsi technical terms such as Hormazd, Nyâsa, Yazad, Kusti and Ata-h,‡ for even a Hindu writing about the Parsi religion would

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*I have numbered the *Slokas* as edited by Mr. Hodivala, as that seems to be the order of the majority of manuscripts, and was probably that of the original. Burgess and Sheriarji have followed a different order, the former remarking, "The 8th, 9th, 10th 11th and 13th in this recension are the 10th, 11th, 8th 13th and 9th respectively of the older version." Whichever be the original order, the remark above holds good, as there is confusion in either case.

† In a manuscript of the Kisse purporting to be in Bahman's own hand in the library of the late Ervad Manekji R. Oonvala, verses 170 and 172 to 181 are entirely wanting, the second half of the verse 168 reads, "Parastâr i mah o Khûrshîd o nâhîd," and in verse 169 in place of the words "Nîku mi danîmash" there occur the words "Parastish mî kunîm." From this and other facts of the like kind this manuscript seems to be a draft, the text now current being the finished product. The changes in verses 168 and 169 show that Bahman did not merely copy or use words at random, but wrote after independent thought and weighed his words. Further it may be noted that Nâhîd means here the angel Anâhita or Abân, not the planet Venus.

‡ The words Vidina and Pula cited by Mr Hodivala in this connection are doubtful emendations not occurring in any manuscript, but even if they were used in the original the same argument would apply to them as to the other words.

have become familiar with them in his study and might have used them in his description. Before concluding this subject I would draw attention to the use of the word Vyoma for heaven in the 15th Śloka in place of the ordinary Svarga. Vyoma* means the sky, the abode of the sun, and is a term specially applied to a temple of the sun. This and the facts (*a*) and (*d*) noted above lead one to believe that the writer was either a Maga Brahmana himself, or at least a person acquainted with their doctrines, and inclined to identify them with those of the Parsis. What has gone before will show that no inference can be drawn as to the age of the Ślokas from that of the Kisse or that of Neriosengh Dhaval. [See point (*f*) noted above]. Nor can any be drawn from the resemblance of a few expressions on the subject of Dâna, "gift" in the 5th Śloka to those in a verse in the Chândâ Prakâśa, † for such expressions are common in Hindu books.

The Magas.

The account of the Magas in Chapter 10 is very interesting, and Mr. Hodivala has brought out at least two facts, which, I believe, were not noted before, namely, the use by the Magas of the Iranian word Paitidâna (p. 82), and worship by them of the Iranian angel Sraosha (p. 90) under the name Srausha स्रौष. The appearance of Mihira on the Kushan coins, the early grants for his worship, and the description in the Brihat Sanhitâ, all point to the conclusion arrived at by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, that this cult must have been introduced under Kushân or Śaka princes in the early centuries of the Christian Era and not later under Sassanian influence as suggested by others. The Magas could not have been orthodox Zoroastrians even before they came to India. Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspentas, the cardinal figures of Zoroastrianism, do not appear at all in their cult, their place being taken by Mihira and his attendants; while image-worship, which is forbidden by Zoroastrian teaching, is the centre of their ritual, and the main purpose for which they were imported. Further, having regard to the fact that their native country is represented as Sâka Dwîpa, it is not improbable that the Magas were not even by race Iranian Magi, but priests of Saka or other connected tribes, who had adopted a mixed religion derived partly from Zoroastrian and partly from other sources, and the word Maga as applied to them meant merely "priest."

The names of two Iranian angels besides Mihira appear in the doctrines of the Magas, as described in the first Parva of the Bhavishya Purâna, namely Sraosha and Rashnu. Mr. Hodivala has already noticed (p. 90) the name of the first in the word स्रौषाय in Bh. P. I—143-40. The preceding word राज्ञाय is not an adjective qualifying स्रौषाय, but the name of another personage राज्ञ in the dative case. This will be apparent from verses 13, 21, 22, 23 and 24 of Chapter 124, in which the attendants of the sun are described and verses 52 and 63 of Chapter 130. Râjna and Srau-

* Chapters 125 and 126 of Part I of the Bhavishya Purâna are devoted to a description of the Vyoma.

† This is a work on the calendar said to have been written in A. D. 1566 by one Chândâ. The only manuscript of it known at present is that of Mobed Edulji Nowroji bin Shapurji Kaka, who prepared an edition of it with a Gujarati transliteration and translation in A. D 1880 during the Kabisa controversy. Ervad Sheriarji has prepared an edition of the same, practically a copy of Edulji's work, which will be shortly printed in the same volume as the 16 Ślokas. The genuineness of this work and of passages in it is not free from doubt. Even if there was borrowing, it is just as possible that Ako borrowed from Chândâ as the reverse.

sha* are the two door-keepers द्वारपालौ of Mihira and stand close to him. Râjna is identified with the Hindu Kârttikeya कार्त्तिकेय and Srausha with the Hindu Hara हर. Fanciful etymologies are given for each name. Râjna is derived from the root Râj राज् "to shine" with the suffix Na न, and Srausha from the root सु "to move" with the suffix Sa स. Monier-Williams' dictionary shows that the common form Râjan is sometimes used for Râjna. The following reasons render it probable that Râjna or Râjan is the same as the Iranian angel of justice, the Avesta Rashnu, and Pahlavi Rashn.

(*a*) Just as Râjna and Srausha are here associated with Mihira, so in the Avesta as well as Pahlavi writings, Rashnu and Sraosha are closely associated with Mithra. According to the Mihr Yast § 41 Rashnu and Sraosha help Mithra to defeat the armies of his enemies, the liars and breakers of promises, according to § 100 in similar operations Sraosha stands to the right of Mithra and Rashnu to his left, according to §§ 79 and 81 "Mithra made a dwelling for Rashnu and to Mithra Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship." With the last statement may be compared the words of the Bhavishya Purâna I-130-63 गृहराज्ञोऽथ रुद्रस्तु * द्वावेतौ भास्करप्रयौ। "Râjna of the house and Rudra, both of them are dear to the sun" In other parts of the Avesta also Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu are put together in various connections (see Srosh Yast § 21, Farvardin Yast §§ 85, 86, Ashi Yast §16, Afrin i Paigambar Zarthust §§ 6, 7, Yasna XVI-5). They also occur together in the calendar as the angels presiding respectively over the 16th, 17th and 18th days of the month. Darmesteter states in his introduction to the Rashnu Yast, "Rashnu Razishta, the truest True, is the Genius of Truth; he is one of the three judges of the departed with Mithra and Sraosha; he holds the balance in which the deeds of men are weighed after their death.....He is an offshoot either of Mithra, the god of truth and the avenger of lies or of Ahura Mazda himself, the all-knowing lord." That Mihr, Srosh and Rashn record the deeds of men and take part in the judgment after death, Rashn holding the balance, is related in Pahlavi books† such as the Dâdistân

* In verse 21 the name of Srausha is misspelt as *S*reshtha in the only version of the text accessible to me, namely, in the edition printed in *S*rivenkateshvara Press, Bombay, in Samvat 1967. In all the other verses the name is properly spelt as Srausha, and no doubt is left on the point by the etymology in verse 23. I give below the verses as printed:—

द्वारपालौ स्मृतौ तस्य राज्ञश्रेष्ठौ
महाबली।
कार्त्तिकेयः स्मृतो राज्ञः श्रेष्ठश्चापि
हरः स्मृतः ॥ २१ ॥
राज दीप्तौ स्मृतो धातुर्नकारस्तस्य
प्रत्ययः।
सुरसेनापतित्वेन स यस्माद्दीप्यते
सदा।
तस्मात्स कार्त्तिकेयस्तु नाम्ना राज्ञ
इति स्मृतः ॥ २२ ॥
सु गतौ च स्मृतो धातुर्यस्य स
प्रत्ययः स्मृतः।
गच्छतीति रहस्तस्मात् पर्यायात्
स्रौष उच्यते ॥ २३ ॥
प्रथमं यद् भवेद् द्वारं धर्मार्थाभ्यां
समाश्रितम्।
तत्रैतौ संस्थितौ देवौ लोकपूज्यौ
द्विजोत्तमाः ॥ २४ ॥

* If is possible that by Rudra is meant in this case Sraosha, for the latter is identified, as shown above, with Hara, and both Rudra and Hara are names of *S*iva But on the other hand it has to be remembered that another attendant of the sun is also identified with Rudra, namely Dindin दिण्डिन् or Dindi दिडि (Bh. P. I-124-1 and 30).

† This part in the judgment after death, assigned to these three angels in the Pahlavi and later writings, is not to be found in any of the Avesta Yasts specially

i Dînîk XIV-3-4, Mîno i Khirad II-119 to 163, and the Pahlavi Ardâ Virâf Nâma Chapter 5.

(*b*) In Varâhamihira's Panchasiddhântikâ (I. 24 and 25) occur the names of the 30 lords of the 30 degrees of a sign of the Zodiac which there are good reasons for believing to be the names of the angels presiding over the 30 days of the Parsi month,* the identity of a large number of them being beyond reasonable doubt. In this list in one of the two manuscripts known the angel of the 18th day Rashnu is given as Guha. Now according to Monier-Williams' dictionary one of the meanings of the word Râjan is "the name of one of the 18 attendants of Sûrya, identified with a form of Guha." As one authority identifies Guha with Rashnu, and the other with Râjan or Râjna, the two latter are also probably identical. Monier-Williams' identification with Guha is consistent with that of the Bhavishya Purâna, as Guha is also a name of Kârttikeya.

(*c*) Finally there is the resemblance between the names Rashn and Râjan or Râjna. It is even possible that Rashn was pronounced by some Iranians or the *S*akas as Razhn, Razn, or Rajn. Rashn is derived by some philologists from the root Raz "to rectify." (See Kângâ's Avesta Dictionary).

Even though thus Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu appear to have been imported into India, they seem to have lost most of their special Iranian characteristics at least in the Bhavishya Purâna. Mithra is not the special angel of truth and good faith, the preserver of promises and moral relations, but has risen to identity with the supreme god of Hinduism. On the other hand, Sraosha, the angel of divine worship, and through it the protector of the good creation against evil, and Rashnu the angel of justice, the best smiter of thieves and bandits, have sunk to be mere attendants of Mihira without any special moral function.*

The subject of the Magas may be closed with the mention of a peculiar circumstance noted by Alberuni in his book on India (Sachau's Translation Vol. II, p. 184), that the festival in honour of the sun used to be celebrated in Multan by his worshippers by a year of exactly 365 days. Such a year is not generally employed in India, but it has been commonly used throughout Iranian lands and Central Asia, having been probably introduced from Egypt by Darius in his later years or Xerxes. It is another indication of the place whence the worship of the sun was imported. Calculation based on the data† given

devoted to these angels, nor, so far as I know, in any other Avesta writing, and on the other hand these angels do not appear in the Avesta passages dealing with the judgment after death, namely, Vendidâd XIX—26 to 34, Yast XXII, and Yast XXIV, 53 to 65. This fact becomes very significant when one notes the great resemblance of this episode to the Egyptian representation of the judgment of the dead by Osiris and his attendants in the Hall of Truth. It looks as if the incident was borrowed from Egypt while in the occupation of the Achæmenians, and if this be so, the fact tends to show that the Avesta writings in question preceded the Achaemenian rule.

*See my Paper on this subject in Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIX p. 118.

*Can it be that the two Dadophori or Torch-bearers of Western Mithraism, constant attendants of Mithra and forming with him the "Triple Mithra" were the result of a similar transformation of the Iranian Sraosha and Rashnu? (see Cumont's Mysteries of Mithra translated by Mc-Cormack, page 129.)

† The interval between the epoch of the era of Yazdajard and that of the Khandakhâdyaka is 11968 days (see p. 48 of the same book). To this add 98040 the number of the day of the latter era on which the festival fell. Divide the total 110008 by 365, andthe quotient 301 is the number of the Yazdajardi years elapsed, and the remainder 143 is the number of the day of the current 302nd year, on which the festival fell.

by Alberuni shows that the festival must have fallen in the 302nd year of Yazdajard on the 143rd day of what is called the Persian year by Alberuni. This day, the 23rd of the 5th month of what is now known as the Kadimi calendar, does not coincide with any festival of the Persians now known or recorded by Alberuni. But it is also the 138th day of the Sughdian year of Samarkand and on that day, namely Roz Rashn of the month Ashnâkhandâ fell the Sughdian festival of "Bâbâkhwâra, also called Bâmikhwâra, that is, drinking the good pure must." (See Sachau's translation of Alberuni's Chronology of Ancient Nations, pages 56 and 221). Whether this is a pure coincidence or otherwise, it is not possible to say at present.

Dr. Spooner's Paper.

It would be out of place to discuss Dr. Spooner's paper here, but I may remark that I agree to a large extent with Mr. Hodivala's conclusions, although not with some of his arguments. No doubt Persia borrowed from India and India from Persia in various matters at various times. It is possible that the idea of an Indian coinage was first suggested by the Persian, and it is probable that the Kharoshthi script derived from the Aramaic was introduced into India by Persian officials. There are good reasons for believing that the regal pomp of the Mauryan court was to some extent copied from the Persian, that the Mauryas employed Persians as soldiers, architects, masons, and in other capacities, that stone architecture on a large scale, sculpture, and the erection of monuments with inscriptions were due to Persian influence under the Mauryas. It is even possible that the Mauryan palaces were imitated from those at Persepolis. It is also not improbable that Iranian doctrine, tradition, and ritual had some share in the formation of Mahâyâna Buddhism. But with all possible deference to Dr. Spooner's great learning it is difficult to believe that the Indian court in the time of Chandragupta "was almost wholly Persian," that there was a following of Persian customs "all along the line—in public works, in ceremonial, in penal institutions, everything," that Asura Maya is identical with Ahura Mazda, that the words Maurya and Meru have Iranian origins, that the Mauryan monarchs were "Iranians in race and Zoroastrian in faith," that Chânakya and even the Nandas were Iranians, that the Atharva Veda is the production of Magian priests, that Magadha is the country of the Iranian Magi, that Garuda is the Iranian Garo Nmâna, that the Yavanas who invaded Orissa were Iranians, and that they penetrated even to Assam, that the worship of Śakti is also due to the Iranian Magi, that the Śakas were really Iranians, that the Śâkyas were really Śakas and so Iranian, that hence Buddha was Iranian in origin and his teachings Zoroastrian in source, that "the details of the Buddha story, particularly in the cycle of the nativity, were brought into India before the Buddha's birth, and were then attached to his person with local adaptations," that "Buddhism is a spiritual acclimatisation ofa section of domiciled Iranians."

I will conclude with some remarks about my letter to Mr. Hodiwala printed at page 105 of this book and his comments on it. The Ptolemy with whom Weber has sought to identify Maya is not one of the kings of Egypt, as might be inferred from the author's remarks at p. 102 of this book, but the great astronomer, from whom the Ptolemaic system derives its name, and who flourished in the second century A. D. It is only for the identification of the name, not of the person that Weber has referred to the inscription of Aśoka.

In spite of the comments at p. 106 on the last part of my letter, and the remarks in connection with "Buildings in Rigvedic times" at p. 104, for the reasons given by me in the said letter I must adhere to

my opinion, which is in agreement with that of Dr. Spooner. The question can hardly arise as to the material of the pillars in the two verses of the Rigveda quoted at p. 104, namely Rv. II—41—5 and V—62—6, for they are the pillars of an imaginary building in heaven, the home of the two gods Mitra and Varuna.* But the bard may have had in mind some earthly building for comparison, and the pillars of such a building were more likely to have been of wood than of stone.

General Cunningham's remark can hardly apply to Vedic times, for he limits the knowledge of stone architecture to two centuries before Asoka However that may be, the only reason of his that is quoted, namely, the derivation of the name Takshasilâ is an extremely dubious one. The true derivation seems to be that given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary under the word Takshasilâ, which is also preferred by the writer of the article on Shahdehri in the Imperial Gazeteer of India 1911. Takshasilâ means "the rock of Taksha." This Taksha is identified with the Nâga King Taksha who had his residence there according to the Râmâyana VII—101—11. Whether this identification be correct or not, the derivation is grammatically correct, whereas Cunningham's does not seem to be so. The name is simply Takshasilâ as given by Pânini (IV—3—93). without any word like Nagara after it, which Cunningham seems to have added to justify his etymology. Further "cut stone" would be Tashtasilâ तष्टशिला, not Takshasilâ तक्षशिला.

The argument in favour of the early existence of stone architecture in India would have a stronger foundation in the Rigvedic verse IV—30—20, if Pur can be taken to mean "town." But according to very competent modern authority,* in the Rigveda it only means a place of temporary refuge, a rampart of hardened earth with palisades and a ditch strengthened occasionally with stone. Even iron (आयसी) Purs are mentioned in the Rigveda, and even Dutt admits at the very place quoted by Mr. Hodivala (Ancient India Bk. I Chap. III) that "this must be taken in a figurative sense as signifying strong forts." The Sûtra of Apastamba only refers to a palace and a hall, not to the material of which they were built.

As I have said in my letter, "one cannot be sure in the matter." The present opinion is based only on the existing evidence; fresh discoveries may lead to a change. I cannot close this subject better than by quoting the words of a fully qualified judge, V. Smith, in the 1920 Edition of his Oxford History of India p. 111:—"The general use of stone in northern India for building, sculpture, and decoration certainly dates from the reign of Asoka, who was influenced by Persian and Greek example. I do not either assert or believe that prior to the days of Asoka the art of building in stone was absolutely unknown in India, or that all artistic work was executed in perishable material, but the ascertained facts indicate that previous to his reign permanent materials were used rarely and sparingly either for architecture or for ornament. When Megasthenes was at Pataliputra, the city was defended by a wooden palisade. The walls, the stone palace within the city and many sacred edifices are ascribed to Asoka."

* See p. 23 of Macdonell's Vedic Mythology in Buhler's Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research.

* Macdonnell and Keith's Vedic Index, article "Pur." See also Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature p. 158, where he ends with the sentence, "There is nothing to show that they were inhabited, much less that Pur ever meant a town or city, as it did in later times."

NOTE.

BY

MR. G. K. NARIMAN.

It was some twenty years ago that I had to appeal to the Parsi community to get out of the groove of the traditional studies by which I meant the Avesta and kindred texts and the Western translations, commentaries and histories written by English and continental authors all of whom had more or less confined their researches to the Greek and Latin writers with an occasional glance at the men who have bequeathed to us their observations and studies in the Arabic language. For it was part prejudice and part ignorance which were responsible for the total neglect of Arabic sources. Barring the authors usually drawn upon, the huge mass of Arabic literature with its constant and contemporary references to Persia remains at least as regards the social conditions of mediæval Iran a *terra in ognite.** I have endeavoured to show how much of Parsi interest lies interred in the unindexed volumes in Arabic in my "Iranian influence on Moslem literature."†

The Armenians who were long the contemporaries of the Sasanians have left annals which have not been utilised with an eye to Persian matters since the day of Patkanian.‡ No beginning as yet has been made in scientific investigations into the huge Chinese annals relating to Zoroastrianism, no effort systematic or otherwise has been made to secure this valuable and reliable auxiliary in determining the circumstance under which immediately after the disruption of the Sasanian Empire certain Parsis settled in China and established fire-temples.* The Syriac literature with its biographies of Persian martyrs to Christianity which introduce us to many an aspect of the sacerdotal life of Sasanian Zoroastrians has not awakened the curiosity of the learned Parsi.†

* A description of Sasanian Persia from within in all its social and political phases is provided in my forthcoming "Persia of the Sasanians."

† See p. 168 et seq.

‡ The publications of the Societe des Etudes Armeniennes promise to be the most interesting in the latest literature on the subject. As M. Meillet says "the words borrowed by the Armenian language from the Parthians are among the most valuable assets of the Iranian linguistics."

* The studies of Chavannes and J. Marquart have not yet attracted sufficient attention. See the *Eran-shahar* of the latter (p. 90) on Buddhism in Baktria.

Sharastani enumerating some of the Fire-temples mentions those in India and China in the last section of Vol. I of his *Milal wal Nahal.*

On Arabic literature as a source of Parsi history I have touched at length in my "Notes on Parsi History in Arabic Works," Journal of Iran Association Sept. 1918, p. 201 et seq.

† The fact of Pahlavi works translated into Syriac fulfilling the role of intermediary between the East and the West is now an established commonplace.

The Syriac Acts of Zoroastrian Martyrs to Christianity, though to be cautiously used for obvious reasons, are a mine of information on the domestic life of Sasanian Iran. The collections of Assemani and Bejan were drawn upon by Hoffmann forty years ago, Auszuge aus Syrischen Akten. Particularly interesting are the sketches of the life of Adarparwa and Meher-narsi and their sister Mahdukht; of Gushtazad, of Shahdost. Sometimes we know only the Christian names like Berik-yeshu, Abd-yeshu. It is interesting to notice the difference between Christian and Islamic biographers with regard to the biographies of the converts. The Christians give details of the career of the converts so far as they are able to ascertain; the Moslem do not consider the life as worth recording except after the adoption of Islam. Thus while it is difficult to learn the antecedents

That the Parsis should have created no important literature of their own since their advent to India except Rewayats*, transcriptions of texts and a few translations is conceivable but it is regrettable that the Sanskrit texts which speak of the Parsis and of tribes more or less religiously allied have also been allowed to remain a sealed book.

A systematic examination of the Puranas especially the Bhavishya for the purpose of learning the conditions of people who strike us by their similarity with the Parsis was first suggested by me when I came upon the startling resemblances between the Parsi customs and those depicted as peculiar to the Magas in the Magavriti.* Since then I have looked into the cognate Bhavishya

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of such neo-Moslems as the poet Mahyar, the minister of Mamun Fazl ibn Sahl and his brother, and many another who are famous in the annals of Islam, we are well posted as to the particulars of the lives of Behnam and Sara, of Gurbarlaha and Kazo the childern of King Sapor, of Gregory whose Zoroastrian name was Piran-gushnasp and George who was born of Mehrangushnasp. Some of these Christian converts carried into their adopted faith their hereditary religious zeal and rose to be Patriarchs like Mar Aba (536-552 A. D.).

I have already indicated elsewhere that the Bible was translated into Pahlavi for the benefit of Parsi proselytes to Christianity and that the fragment of a Pahlavi Vocabulary has been discovered which could have been designed mainly for the converts.

On the position of Pahlavi as the language of religious and intellectual intercourse in the Christian centuries preceding the Arab invasion, see my Literary History of Sanskrit Budhism, Appendix V, p. 224-230.

The most readable account of Christianity in the Sasanian Empire is Wigram's "Assyrian Church," a quaint (but justifiable) designation which has probably hindered the popularity of the book. The best French works are Labourt's *Christianisme dans l'empire Perse* and R. Duval's *Litterature Syriaque.*

*In spite of the half hearted assurances from our Dasturs and other custodians of our traditional literature that there are no *mss.* in Pahlavi, Pazand or Persian which have not been published, it would appear that the Parsi community is still not in a position to face the learned Occident and asservate that it has placed at the disposal of the latter for research all the traditional material in its possession. The principle of K. R. Cama in this respect has ceased to be operative. Our pioneer scholar stressed the vital importanee of printing everything of our literary heritage. At my request Mr. Dhabhar, M. A, has drawn up a provisional list of texts, Pahlavi and Persian, which await publication if not edition :

PAHLAVI.

1. Shayast la Shayast.
2. Dadistan (second half).
3. Rivayet of Hemet-i Ashavahishtan,
4. Aogemaide
   (Avesta-Pazand was published in 1878 by Geiger).
5. Andarz-i Aoshnar Danak (about 1400 words),
6. A short text of 90 words about the best and the worst things.
7. Madigan-i Si-roz (about 1150 words).
8. A commentary on Ashem Vohu.
9. Nirang av u padyare Yashtan (ceremony of the consecration of Nirangdin) with other ritual directions in Pahlavi as given in the Yasna Mss.

PERSIAN.

1. Zartosht-Nameh.
2. Saddar Nazm.
3. Saddar Biher-i Tawil.
4. Dodar bin Dadukht.
5. Araste.
6. Changraghach-nameh.
7. Olma-i Islam and Saogaud-nameh (published about 50 or 60 years ago by Mohl.)

A codex worthy of attention reposited in St Petersburg, is described by C. Salemann which does not seem to be familiarly known in Bombay. It contains, *inter alia*, Hormazd Yesht in Pazand and Pahlavi, the Pazand of certain sections of Vandidad VIII, two glossaries and Atash Nyayish. The codex does not seem to be provided with a colophon.—a serious defect. But its contents deserve a detailed scrutiny in English. It testifies to the popularity of the *omena et portenta literature* of the Parsis unfavourably commented upon by Aratic writers like Ibn Kutaiba.

*The value of Magavritti and Parasiprakasha of Krishnadasa for the history of Parsis in India has been touched upon by me in the literature columns of the "Bombay Chronicle" My copy of the former has unfortunately been lost by Dr. Spooner who could not obtain it elsewhere in India and to whom it was loaned by me Weber who has carefully studied the latter surmised a Parsi hand in the compilation of this Parso-Sanskrit glossary.

Purana and although portions of the present text of Bhavishya Purana are palpable interpolations, the light it throws on the tribe or tribes whose customs so forcibly remind us of our own, represents practices of a tolerable antiquity.* It admits of little doubt that there were settlements in India of Parsis or peculiar sects of Parsis before the conquest of Persia by Islam.

Mr. S. K. Hodivala who has patiently and systematically laboured to ascertain what the Purana has to give us in the shape of reliable information regarding the Parsis, has touched upon the genesis of this migration from Persia into India. As in most Islamic problems it seems to me that rival texts could be endlessly adduced on one side or the other. What I have shown to my community is not that the Parsis at the first impact of the Arab invaders started to live a life of ideal earthly prosperity in Persia, but that a dispassionate analysis of the causes of their downfall and conversion proves that society and state were rotten to the core under the later Sasanians which circumstance was responsible more than any zeal, enthusiam or bigotry on part of the Islamic Arabs for the well-nigh total extinction of Zoroastrians from Persia in an inconceivably short period. Whatever the attitude of the ruling classes and theologians, it cannot be denied that there were impartial men of intellect who have treated the religion and custom of the former rulers of Persia in a spirit of impartiality. If a comparative study is made of the religious spirit of the Parsis towards Christianity and the attitude of the Islamic Persians towards non-Moslems and if the Shia religious literature of Persia is scrutinised, it will be found that the zealotry of the modern Moslem Persian is but a heritage of his Zoroastrian ancestor. But even if the large Arabic literature were saturated with prejudice against the Parsi, its neglect as a source of indirect information is unjustifiable. For it is impossible for any coherent thinker to indulge in diatribes against his opponents without here and there unwittingly giving us welcome knowledge. In the early Arabic literature there are few names associated with greater literary activities than that of Jahiz. This prolific writer who flourished in the century is not particularly partial to the Parsis, but fully illustrates my contention that even he who enters with zest into religious controversies against the Zoroastrians is obviously worthy of study on account of the glimpses that he incidentally affords us of the social and religious practices of Zoroastrian Persia under the Khalifas. In his *Kitab al Haywan* for instance, Jahiz has a long tirade against the tenents of Zoroaster but in the midst of his polemic he gaves two bits of historical and social interest. Whenever any inexplicable or unfashionable custom is to be denounced it is the tendency of the advanced among our community to promptly refer it to Moslem or Hindu influences. The attitude of a scientific inquirer would not be one of offhand condemnation, of what appeared out of harmony with our modern conceptions of right and the ethically acceptable. What appears to us objectionable in our modern semi-Christian environments was owing to intelligible reasons regarded as salubrious by our ancestors. We do not know, for instance, how to account for the orthodox Parsi prejudice against the cat. But it certainly is not due to any foreign

* I can claim to have first invited the notice of my co-religionists to the sun worshippers called Bhojakas or Magas "undoubtedly connected with the Zoroastrian sun and fire cult" to whom a section has been devoted in the Bhavishyapurana. In order to bring its importance to the notice of the widest interested circle I translated for the "Bombay Chronicle" the entire masterly analysis of the Puranas by Winternitz soon after I received his *History of Indian Literature* in 1918.

influence. It is conceivable that the animal was hated because partiality was shown to it by tbe Arab Musalmans but that this feeling of loathing towards the domestic animal was as old as the tenth century we learn from the polemical passage in question from Jahiz. Further the same section tells us of the custom which was universal even in his time among the Zoroastrians not to proselytise. It has often been contended that as conversion is enjoined in the older Avesta texts it could not have been interdicted in Persia but that it was prohibited only in India on the all-sufficing ground of the dangerous possibility of the absorption of the community by the millions of the non-Zoroastrians of India. But from Jahiz we learn that the same disinclination to, if not positive embargo on, conversion obtained in his day in Mesopotamia and Persia.

It will take years perhaps generations before we have among us Parsis of wealth and influence such as would rise superior to popular trend of thought and devote their means to the ascertaining of truth regardless of its provenance. It is not every decade that produces a Sorabji Jamshedji who gathered together a large number of Arabic and Persian texts and demonstrated the sympathy of some of the Musalman authors* and theologians for Persians in an age when an effort of the kind must have sounded irrational if not heretical to minds accustomed only to anathemas against non-Zoroastrian and especially Moslem authors.

It is a matter of solid congratulation, therefore, that middle class men of enlightenment like Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla have come forward to give the lead to their immeasurably more prosperous co-religionists. The little book of my erudite friend Mr. Hodivala whose devotion to learning is undisputed, is a substantial contribution to investigations on the lines indicated by me long ago. The labour of original research involved in the preparation of the monograph reflects as much credit on his unassuming perseverance as on the enlightened generosity of his patron who e liberality is not the less admirable because it is exercised by one in his moderate circumstance. It was easier for a Baronet

* The Pahlavi book of Ganjeshayigan has the unique merit to supply direct source of chapter in Firdausi. There is almost complete identity between the Persian version and the Pahlavi text It is most important that as against Noeldeke and others, Darmesteter holds that there is strong ground to believe that Firdausi was familiar with Pahlavi. In one of Firdausi's lyrics for instance he refers to Pahlavi as distinguished from Arabic in a manner which leaves little d ubt about his having directly studied Pahlavi materials.

Basi ranj didam basi guftah khvandam

Ziguftari tazi wz Pahlavi.....

This Pahiavi text snpplies us a key to the method followed by Firdausi which becomes apparent from a juxtaposition of the Pahlavi and the Persian. He has adhered faithfully to his original except in matters of religion where the Zoroastrian view would too glaringly have obtruded itself on his Musalman readers. He has availed himself of a poet's license sometimes to add immaterial matters for the purpose of rhyme. The Ganjeshaegan was translated into Arabic by Ibn Muskavaih. Both Firdausi and Ibn Muskavaih worked independently. The latter has preserved more of the Pahlavi than of the former. For the history of the Persian philology it will be interesting to compare Firdausi's version with the Persian translation prepared from the Arabic rendering of Ibn Muskavaih by the order of Akbar and called Javidan Khired.

Ibn Muskavaih was closely connected with Zoroastrianism. Musalman writers have given unstinted praise to the Jawidan Khirad and love to describe how this treasure of ancient wisdom was discovered in the time of Mamun and how when translated for him the Khalifa exclaimed " Here is speech not what we utter " One of these descriptions is preserved in a didactic tract of Ghazali called Tabar-al-Masbuk which was originally composed in Persian for Malekshah the Saljuk and subsequently turned into Arabic.

For Persian works of importance from the Zoroastrian stand-point as well as for a more detailed indication of the " Sources of Parsi History " see Journal of the Iranian Association, 1918 Dec, p. 826.

to endow a scholarship or even a chair of Zoroastrian research than for a man of Mr. Saklatvala's means to promote religious investigation which promises no material return.

I hope the example set here may prove contagious. Let another Parsi scholar do, say for a Persian text, what Mr. Hodivala has achieved for the Sanskrit Purana. The parochialism which would have research into Parsi antiquities by a Parsi or no research at all is happily extinct in the community. But the spirit uufortunately abroad among wealthy circles inclines to the opposite. It refuses to see genuine scholarship among Parsis and is eager to patronise pliant and subservient Madrasis. It is more reprehensible than the orthodox illiberality which saw no beneficent activity in the non-Parsi world.

NOTE.

BY

MR. A. GOVINDACHARYA SWAMIN OF MYSORE.

The account of the Parsis of India is well drawn by the author and the book contains numerous quotations from various sources. The author has spared no pains to spread before the reader a vast collection of opinions and incidents anent substantiating his conclusions that the Parsis were originally the Aryans of Aryavarta.

The reader is puzzled to know how and under what circumstances the original whole of the Indo-Aryan stock came to be riven into two separate sections nearly rendering the identity of the one part with the other extremely difficult.

The quotations cited in this book lead one to think of the Parthians, the Prithus or the Parsus or the Modern Parsis themselves as being quite alien in view of the animosity and jealousy displayed by tho ancient Hindu kings towards them. Moreover the constant struggle among both the parties and the eventual subversion of the Parsis are facts well nigh proving that they were entirely alien who could not be allowed to settle themselves in the land without experiencing utmost resistence. The mention of the Parsis (the Pahlavas) as Kshatri tribe in Manusmriti and their having been condemned to the condition of Sudras on account of the omission of rites and transgressing the orders of the Brahmanas does not prove that they were Indo-Aryans, as other tribes also have been mentioned in the same strain, who are distinctly foreigners which the word Mleccha justly signifies. It may therefore be concluded that in the absence of sufficient data the Parsis cannot be conclusively proved to be an identical section of the Indo-Aryans but may be safely asserted that they were the earliest immigrants into India.

The later history of the influence of the Parsis can be gathered from what prevailed at the time of the rule of the kings of the Mauryan Dynasty over India. It is surmised also that the Mauryan kings were the followers of Zoroastrianism not unmixed with Buddhism however, Can it be said that religious persuasions prove national identity? Nor can we assert that all Christians are Hebrews because the Christ was Hebrew by nationality.

It may be that the Parsis an obscure horde of Scythian Origin from all the provinces of Upper Asia had migrated into India, and having been subdued by the Hindu kings who compelled them to adopt a last position in the scale of Hindu society as we know from the story of the King Sagara as related in Vishnupurana and Harivamsa that when the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas and *Pahlavas* were about to be destroyed by Sagara, they went to Vasishtha his family guru for surrender and were compelled to abandon their religion and association with the twice born—tbe *Kshatriyas* (?) and to wear their hair free and wear beards also It is interesting to note that Dr. R. Caldwell thinks that Sagara commanded the different races he subdued, to do merely what they had been doing. According to the latter opinion it may be concluded that the Pahlavas or Parasikas had been commanded merely to revert to their own religion which of course was not the same as that of Sagara although they had come to adopt a religion to which Sagara belonged.

That the Parsis of the present day are classed as a separate tribe is a well known fact. Their worships of the Fire and other elements are not proofs of Hindu identity, as we know that the ancient Drûids had a system of worship and a conduct of life which resembled that of the Hindus in many respects. Can they be said to belong to the Hindu category?

That the Parsis settled themselves in India long before historical times and that they were not however Indo-Aryans may be fairly concluded. But they absorbed to the utmost the Hindu ways.

The book discusses many important issues anent the Parsis, all of which is extremely interesting and reflects great credit on the part of the author who is not dealing with the questions with any bias or predilections. He lays facts, sometimes, as they are found and leaves the reader at liberty to form his own opinion: thus paving a way for others interested in the subject to discuss it in the best way they can.

We are much indebted to the author for the vast collection of material which bespeaks an extensive acquaintance with the literature extant concerning a subject not attempted to be dealt with so exhaustively hitherto.

The book is so replete with materials for a thesis either for or against the common cradle Hindustan, both for the Hindus and the Parsis, that time permitting, many more reflections are capable of being advanced. This I shall attempt and do for a future occasion. Meanwhile the Hindu-Parsi origin is a particular species of the more general problem of the common cradle of the whole Aryan branch of prehistorical humanity. In my book on Ideals of India I have launched a suggestion of all humanity having migrated from the regions of the Himalayas. My book on Mazdeism in the Light of Vaishnavism has a great bearing also on this subject and I may advert to these questions again. Meanwhile the Memorial volume for my spiritual son Dorabji Sakalatwala, so ably prepared by Sri Hodivala is warmly recommended to the public.

FOREWORD

BY

THE AUTHOR.

The subject matter of this book, which contains various references to the Parsis in Sanskrit books, inscriptions &c. was read in the form of several papers in the meetings of the "Society for the Promotion of Researches into Zoroastrian Religion" about three years ago. Mr. M. P. Khareghat, who is one of the respected Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay and who has been unanimously recognised as a veteran Oriental Scholar of rare ability, has been as the chairman of the abovenamed Society taking deep interest in its proceedings. He was good enough to attend almost all the meetings, and sometimes when pressed he offered remarks in his usually very terse and guarded manner. For instance, on one occasion he observed that the references in the Mahâbhârata &c. were probably interpolations of much later times than I supposed, and on another occasion he pointed out that the word "Pârasika" in the Mewar inscription seemed to be used for Mahomedans. Now in the whole range of Sanskrit literature the word "Pârasika" has been, so far as I knew, used for the Parsis only and for no other nation. This was one of the reasons why I was inclined to put a new interpretation upon the passage and bring forth a novel theory, although I knew that it would not be easily acceptable. I was well acquainted with the fact that there was no tradition—nothing in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan or any other book—about the Parsis having fought at Chitor with the Mahomedans; but the hitherto uncorroborated incidents of the battle of Sanjan recorded in the Kisseh fitted in so exactly with those of the Chitor battle, that I did not hesitate to suggest the theory either that Bahman had made a confusion about the battlefield, or that he was ignorant of this other battle. I do not claim infallibility for my interpretation and the conclusion based upon it; more convincing proof than that of Mr. Khareghat might show that I was wrong; but I shall deem my labours amply repaid, if my arguments appeal to some of the readers to make further investigations either as regards the battle of Chitor, or regarding any reference to the word "Pârasika" in Sanskrit literature used indubitably for an alien. Believing firmly as I did that a student, who startled the scholarly world with a new theory, should not fight shy of adverse criticism, I was determined that when the book was printed, I should request Mr. Khareghat to write a preface embodying his views whether for or against the different questions dealt with in the book. The fact that he had helped me by giving his views about Asura Maya, which are incorporated in this book, (see pages 105 and 106) emboldened me to think that he would not displease me. Accordingly at my request he took up the work and finished it with great credit to his learning, for which I hereby tender my best thanks.

I welcome Mr. Khareghat's views given in unambiguous language, although in some places he has contradicted mine, as I had expected from such a well-read scholar of great critical acumen, and ripe judgment. Mr. Khareghat's remarks, specially those wherein he differs from me, would undoubtedly supply food for thought and material for investigation to any future inquirer. For instance, according to him the

word "Pârasika" used in the Mudrâ Râkshasha and Kathâ-sarit-sâgar referred to events which occurred many centuries before them and that it was used by the authors for "the northern foreigners," because these people (the Pârasikas) were mentioned along with the Shakas and Hunas, who broke into India long after the said events. But the argument that the Pârasikas, Shakas and Hunas were brought to India by the invaders as hirelings at a certain time and that probably they went back to their countries after doing their duty, is quite different from the argument that they came to India as invaders or even as conquerors long after the time mentioned above. Indeed I cannot understand why Mr. Khareghat says under the heading "Pârasika," that the word "Pârasika" used by the author of Mudrâ Râkshasha was meant only for "northern foreigners in general," when he himself, in another place, (namely under the heading "Dr. Spooner's Paper") admits that "there are good reasons for believing that.....the Mauryas employed Persians as soldiers." However that may be, the point raised by Mr. Khareghat is important. Similarly in regard to the question of the Prithus and Parshus in the Rigveda, and the question whether stone buildings existed in India in pre-Mauryan times or not, I must say that I am at a loss to know whether one should give the palm to Western scholarship or to Eastern scholarship. Take the question of the date of Pânini. European scholars like Max Muller and Macdonell would assign about 300 B.C. to Pânini; whereas Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Dutt and others would push back the date by about 5 centuries. Whom are we to believe? It is clear that those who have taken their education in European atmosphere (I do not refer to Mr. Khareghat, but I speak generally) prefer European scholarship, which, as is well known, has been in several cases found lacking. Personally I prefer to follow Eastern scholarship with due safeguards.

Mr. Khareghat's different interpretations about the inscriptional passage of the Châlukya king Vijayâditya will have to be considered in the light of the context and the then circumstances. The questions about the date and authorship of the 10 Sanskrit Shlokas are important. They were discussed somewhat in the meetings of the above-mentioned Research Society by some members. The commentary edited by me in the Dastur Hoshung Memorial Volume might lead one to suppose that Akâ was one of the commentators and not the original writer Perhaps the Shlokas have undergone revision in later times by some Hindu scholar. However that may be, it is impossible to believe that the writer of the 5th and 3rd Shlokas could have borrowed from the work of Mobed Chândâ, whose command over the Sanskrit language was extremely poor. I am afraid, no two scholars would agree on the questions of date and authorship of the Shlokas. It is no wonder therefore that Mr. Khareghat differs from me considerably but there is no doubt that further light will be obtained, if we come across new manuscripts or fresh materials, to get which no money or energy should be considered ill-spent.

My thanks are also due to my friend Mr. G. K. Nariman, whom the Parsis may with just pride claim as an all-round accomplished scholar for his introductory note on Bhavishya Purâna. I must admit that it was Mr. Nariman's suggestion from the platform and the press, which inspired me to study the Bhavishya Purâna to determine who the Magas were When Mr. Nariman saw my manuscript, he desired to see it soon in print, and it was he who suggested to our mutual friend Mr. Jamshedji Edulji Saklatwalla to patronise my

book, to which the latter readily agreed and for which I am cordially indebted to Mr. Saklatwalla.

The history of the Parsis of Ancient India from the hoary past down to the 16th century after Christ is almost a blank. Open the first volume of the Parsi Prakâsh, that monumental work of the late Khan Bahadur Bomanji B. Patel, and you will find that only about three or four pages have been devoted to events connected with the Parsis during the abovesaid period. I therefore thought that the Sanskrit and other passages referred to by me will at least be regarded as a first step for filling up the wide gap. There is little doubt that many more references could be given; but personally I was unable to quote them on account of want of time an proper facility. I therefore requested some of my Poona friends to help me herein. I also requested Mr. Saklatwalla to write to his Madrasi friends to give me references other than those I had come across. I am glad to say that our mutual friend Mr. A. Govindâchâraya has written a note, which has been printed in the foregoing pages, and for which I am thankful to Mr. Govindâcharya.

Mr. V. Venkatâchellam Ayar of Nellore has come across a new reference, about which he says:—

"There is one reference which with some labour I have ferreted out. I do not know, if it is quite in point. But there are more doubtful instances relied on by the learned author, who I must admit has taken immense pains to lay under contribution everything that can be interpreted as a reference to the ancient Iranian people in connection with India.

"In Shadgurusishya's Commentary on Sarvanukramani (a Vedic Index), he records a tradition as to the revelation of a Rik (a hymn of the Rigveda) in the VI th Mandal, ascribed to a seer Payu by name, son of Bharadwâja It is recorded that two princes (of the Sanskrit speaking race), Châyamâna चायमान and Prastoka प्रस्तोक fought against powerful enemies of a nation named Pârasikhas पारशिखाः and were defeated. That they then approached their high priest Bhardwâja and expressed their consternation that notwithstanding a Rishi of such spiritual eminence was their adviser, that they should be defeated in battle by their enemies. The Rishi then commissioned his son Payu to devise some charm or spell, by which they could succeed. The son sat in meditation and saw (composed) the Rik aforesaid, and sprinkled charmed water over the chariots, harness, horses arms and accoutrements. The princes now took courage and went out to battle again and defeated their enemies, the Pârshikhas.

"I do not know if this word was meant for the Persians; the difficulty is about the ख. For invariably we find in Sanskrit ka used as the terminal क. × × × × ×

"The reference I have noted above may be read in A. A. Macdonell's Edition of Kâtyayana's Sarvanukramani with Shadgurusishya's commentary, Oxford Edition, Page 128, bottom lines, note 75 and the next page. The variations in the reading of the word Pârasikha found in the foot-notes must be regarded with care and dealt with. Our reading shows also the more desirable form of पारशिक."

I thank Mr. Ayar for the above reference. As he says my object was to collect all possible references to the Zoroastrians living in India in older times. Indeed most of the quotations in the first Chapter fall under this category of doubtful references. It was the Iranian ring of the names Khaharâta and Nahapâna which had led some scholars to look upon them as Persian, and I have thought it advisable to follow

these scholars. The Kushan coinage suggested Iranian influence to some extent; even this was considered worthy of note in this book. King Krishna, a prince of Gujarat in about 750 A. D. has been noted (see p. 25) for the simple reason that he has been called a "Pahlava" prince, although he was a worshipper of Shiva. All these and other doubtful references and quotations have been incorporated in this book with the object, that in future some further light may be thrown on the different matters recorded in this book.

Misprints* and slips may be easily condoned by the reader.

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* Page 1, Col. 1, line 2, for "to" read "in," (India)

Page 32, after पाणौ read वर्म.

Page 139, 2nd Col. 6th line, for "injunctions" read "references."

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PARSIS OF ANCIENT INDIA.

CHAPTER No. 1.

Arrival of the Persians to India from old mythical times.

Traditions of ancient Persian kings and generals having come to India are met with in Firdusi's Shâhname, Abou Fazal's Ain-i-Akbari and Fireshta's History.

Firdusi narrates that Faridun's mother Franak sent her infant son Faridun to Hindustan to save him from the murderous hands of Zohak, who invaded and conquered Persia.

Firdusi also gives the story of Asfandiâr the son of Gushtasp, who came to India and persuaded the Indian Emperor to adopt fire-worship and accept the Zoroastrian religion. Many more references from the Shahname might be given to show the connection of the ancient Persians with India (Elliot's History V, 568, Kutar's Shâh-name VI, 86-87).

The Ain-i-Akbari gives the following account of the kings of Persia, who had come to India :—

Hoshang, the founder of the Peshdadian dynasty, was the first Iranian king to come to India. Jamshid who next visited India is said to have gone to China from India *via* Bengal. Narimân Kersasp, Sâm Nariman, Zal Sâm, and Framazd Rustam are also said to have come to India for conquest.

It is stated that Kersasp was told by astrologers that his dynasty's rule over Zabulistân would be overthrown and that his and his heir's remains would be disinterred by the enemy. With a view to avoid this mishap, he ordered that his remains might be buried at Kanauj in India. This was complied with. His example was also followed in the case of Narimân, Sâm and Rustam. Bahman after overrunning Zabulistân in revenge of Rustam's killing his father Asfandiar, came to Kanauj to disinter the remains of Kersâsp and his descendants, all of whom had a lot of money buried with them and had on their tombs tablets with a request to the visitors not to meddle with the remains. Bahman carried away the treasure but abstained from his original intention of destroying the remains in revenge.

According to Ferishtâ there existed good relations between the Indian king Krishna and the Persian emperor Tehemurasp. Krishna's nephew sought shelter with king Faridun, who sent his general Kersâsp bin Atrud (Atrat) to India to compel the king to give a portion of his territories to his nephew. After this time, Sâm Nariman invaded Punjab at the direction of the Persian monarch. He was opposed by one Mulchand, who at last sought peace. From this time forward, Punjab remained in the hands of the descendants of Faridun, and was governed by Kersasp and his family. It formed a part of the country of Kabul, Jabul, Sind and Seistan, which was under the sway of Rustam's family. Kesurai the successor of the above Indian king asked the help of king Minocheher against some of his rebels. Minocheher sent Sam Nariman to his help. He met Kesurai at Jallander and helped him in subduing his tributary kings. Kesurai was succeeded by Firujrai, who after

the death of Sam Nariman, rebelled against the suzerainty of Persia and freed Punjab from its yoke. Up to time of king Kaikobad, Punjab remained independent under the Indian kings. Rustam then invaded India, defeated the Indian Raja and placed one Surajrai on the throne. Later on Kedar Raja paid a tribute to Kâus and Kaikhusru.*

In support of the statements of Fireshta Dr. J. J. Modi and Prof. Darmesteter give the tradition about the fort of Jamrud in the Khyber Pass, namely that the said fort was connected with the name of the king Jamshid of the Peshdadian dynasty.

That the Persians had come to India and lived there from the Vedic times downwards is affirmed by several scholars:—

(1) Prof. Spiegel in his introduction to Avesta (Vol. II. pp CVI ff) says :—" The original abode of the Indo-Germanic race is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise.....It might be imagined that not only the Indians, but also the Iranians along with them, had migrated to the countries on the Indus; and that Iranians, perhaps owing to religious differences, had retraced their steps to the westward."

(2) Prof. Max Muller says:—" It can now be proved even by geographical evidence, that Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they immigrated into Persia. I say the Zoroastrians, for, we have no evidence to bear us out in making the same assertions of the nations of India and Persia in general. That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vedic period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece." (Chips, I, 86).

* See also Dr. J. J. Modi's Asiatic Papers Part II pp. 262–294. And Vendidad I. 19 and Yasht X. 104.

The same opinion is repeated by Prof. Max Muller in his Lectures on the Science of Language (I, 235):— " The Zoroastrians were a colony from northern India. They had been together for a time with the people, whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place, and the Zoroastrians migrated westward to Arachosia and Persia."

(3) Professors Bhagvat and Apte have, in their " Key to interpret the Veda," pointed out that there are references to the Persians and Parthians in the Rigveda. In Rv.I-105-8 we have सं मा तपन्ति अभितः सपत्नीरिव पर्शवः । " The Parshus (Persians) harass me all round like cowives."

Rv. VIII-6-46 :—शतमहं तिरिन्दिरे सहस्रं पर्शवा ददे राधांसि याद्वानाम् "I wrested from the Yadva (tribe) one hundred cattle (in the province of) Tirindira, and one thousand cattle (in the province of) Parshu."

Rv. VII. 83–1 ;—युवां नरा पश्यमानास आप्यं प्राचा गव्यन्तः पृथुपर्शवो ययुः । दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम् ॥ " O you men, looking to you and your wealth the Prithus and Parshus, fain for spoil, march forward. O Indra-Varuna, you smote and slew the Dasa and Aryan enemies, and helped Sudas with favour." Prof. Ludwig also renders पृथुपर्शवः by " Parthians and Persians."* (According to Panini V. 3-117 the words पार्शवः in the singular, पार्शवी in the dual and पर्शवः in the plural, are taken as the name of a warrior tribe—the last of the three forms suggesting

* See Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume, p. 319. According to Dr. Teile, " Parsuas appear to have dwelt east of Elam at the time of Senacherib. Perhaps they were Persians th ugh the name might equally be a disguise for Parthavas or Parthians. In the annals of Salamanasar II (9th c. B. C) he relates of a victory over a certain Artasur who lived not far from Parsuas " (Teile's Religion of Iranians translated by G. K. Nariman. Indian Antiquary XXXII, 228.)

the singular पर्शु. In the cuniform inscriptions at Behistan we have the countries *Pârsah* and Partava, which might be compared with the पर्शु and पृथु of the Rigveda.)

Thus the *Parshus* and *Prithus* would appear to be either inhabitants or invaders of India.

(4) As has been shown by Dr. Muir in his Sanskrit Texts (Vol II, p. 364 ff.) the word *Dasyu* is used for men and not demons in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII–18), Manusmriti (X–43 ff), Mahâbhârâta ; Shanti-parva (65-2429, 168-6293) and even some passages in the Rigveda (IV-41-2,VI-14-3, X-22-8 &c). He further says :—"I have gone over the names of the Dasyus and Asuras mentioned in the Rigveda, with the view of discovering whether any of them could be regarded as of non-Aryan origin; but I have not observed any that appear of that character." (Sk. Texts, Vol II, p. 387).

Thus then the Dasyus were Aryan people.* Now in the Manusmriti (XI 43-45) we are told that the Kambojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas, *Pahlavas* &c. were Dasyus. The Pahlavas were either Persians or Parthians, as several scholars have asserted. If then the Dasyus dwelt in India in the Vedic and post-Vedic times, they probably included the *Pahlavas*.

Abisares, King of North Punjab.

In historic times Punjab formed part of the Persian dominions from its conquest by Darius Hystapes † about B. C. 510 till the later days (B. C. 350) of the Achæmenian dynasty (Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchy, IV, 433).

In the hilly country above the territories of Taxiles and Porus, the historians of Alexander place the dominions of Abisares. Arrian states that the *Soamus*, the present Suhan river rises in the "mountainous parts of Sabissa," that is, in the hills of Murri and Margala Pass. This is the exact position of the district of *Abhisâra* according to the Rajatarangini and other Hindu authorities. From the earliest times this country has been occupied by the Gakars, who seem to be the descendants of the Persians who were the coreligionists of king Abisares in the time of Alexander. (This point is proved beyond all reasonable doubt by the name of Abisare's brother, whom Arrian calls *Arsakes*. This name refers the people to a Parthian origin.) According to one account, the ancestors of the Gakars were transplanted by Afrasiyab into the N. W. Punjab, under a leader named *Kid Kaid*.

In the year B. C. 326 Alexander crossed the Indus and advanced to Taxila, where he received an embassy from Abisares, "king of the Indian Mountaineers." After the battle with Porus, Alexander received a second embassy from Abisares, "with a present of money and forty elephants" Again on his return to the Akesines, a third embassy arrived, headed by Arsakes, the brother of Abisares, bringing valuable presents and thirty more elephants. The dominions of Abisares must have been very extensive, as he was able to make a present of seventy elephants. His territory touched the Indus on the west. Arsakes, the brother of Abisares, is described as the governor of the adjacent province, and as he waited upon Alexander at Taxila, his province was not very far distant from that city. M. Troyer calls him "governor of the district of *Urasa*," the *Varsa Regis* of Ptolemy, and the *Rash* of the present day, which lies immediately to the north of Dhanra-

* See Zarathustra in Rigveda (pp. 8-9) "Strabo asserts that Arsakes, the founder of the Parthian Monarchy was called Dahæ. The name Dahæ is derived from the Zend *Dahyu* (Sk. *Dasyu*)" (Cunningham's Archæological Survey, Vol II, p. 46).

† The invasion of India by Darius is so well known, that we need not refer to it at great length.

war. (Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India, II, pp. 23-29.)

Were the Mauryan rulers Zoroastrians ?

The excavations of the historic site of Patliputra under the supervision of Dr. D. B. Spooner led him to write an important paper which was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in January and July 1915. This paper is of special interest to the Parsis, because it opens up a new vista of research regarding what Dr. Spooner calls "the Zoroastrian Period of Indian History." From the Inscriptions of Darius we know, that the Achæmenian emperors ruled over north western provinces, such as Kandhar, Panjab &c. These provinces were divided into different Satrapies (Rawlinson's Herodotus, II, 487); and on the authority of the Greek writers, it is stated, that Indian regiments under the Persian generals fought with the Greeks on behalf of their Persian rulers. (Herodotus, IV, 63, 347, 398). But the theory that the Zoroastrians extended their sway as far as the Gangetic valley and ruled at Patliputra as imperial rulers came as a surprise among the scholarly world.

We Zoroastrians are highly indebted to Dr Spooner for his researches, and would indeed be very pleased, if it could be satisfactorily proved, that there was in ancient times "a Zoroastrian period of Indian History" The history of the Parsis of ancient India for about a thousand years after the time of Darius was supposed to be a mere blank. Great was therefore the enthusiasm of the Parsi writers and speakers, when they came across Dr. Spooner's paper, which seemed to supply a great missing link in the history of the Parsis, namely that the Mauryan rulers at Patliputra belonged to the Zoroastrian or Magian faith. To determine the correctness or otherwise of this assertion, a full discussion of Dr. Spooner's paper becomes a matter of paramount necessity. Dr. Spooner has made use of every conceivable argument he could think of in favour of the subject, which is so very important for us, that it would be necessary to analyse every single argument to see whether it would stand the test of criticism. But it would not be proper to insert here the extremely long discussion which, being a subject by itself, would be dealt with in a separate book to be published hereafter. We will only give a summary of the result which is that the Mauryan emperors were not Zoroastrians, that the Persians had come to India to fight for Chandragupta the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, that they lived in India as subject races, that some of these served as chiefs and petty Rajas in the Mauryan times, and that they probably had a hand in the erection of the Mauryan palaces, which were built after the style of the Persepolitan halls.

Chapter No. 2.

References to Parsis and Persians in Sanskrit Books.

In this chapter, we propose to consider the passages in Sanskrit works, relating to the Parsis of India in ancient times. The Hindu writers used the word *Parasika* for the Parsis and *Pahlavas* for the Parthians or Iranians generally.

Pahlavas and Parasikas in Mahabharata.

(1) From a passage in the Shanti Parva of the Mahâbhârâta (Sec. 65, lines 2429 ff), we are in a position to say, that the Persians were a subject race in ancient times. In that passage the King Mandhatri asks the following question :—

यवनाः किराताः गान्धाराश्चीनाः शर्वरवर्वराः। शकास्तुपाराः कंकाश्च पहलवाश् चांध्रमाद्रकाः। .....कथं धर्मांश्चरिष्यन्ति सर्वे विषयवासिनः । मद्विधैश्च कथं स्थाप्याः सर्वे वै दस्युजीविनः ॥

" The Yavanas, Kiratas, Gandharas, Chinas, Sharvaras, Varvaras, Sakas, Tusharas, Kankas, *Pahlavas*, Andhras, Madras.....how shall all these (people) living in different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those, living as Dasyus ?" *

We see from the above question that the Pahlavas resided in the dominion of the king. As Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Prof. Max Muller, Dr. Muir and other scholars say, these Pahlavas were the Pahlavi or Parthian people, (Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 54. Muir's Texts, II, p. 259, S B. E. XXV Intro. p. 115, B. B. R. A. S. XVI, p. 215).

(2) In the Bhishma Parva of the Mâhâbhârata (Sec. IX, §§ 64-67)we find a complete list of the numerous tribes * dwelling in Bhâratavarsha or India, among whom the following tribes are mentioned :—

यवनाश्चीनकांबोजा दारुणा म्लेच्छजातयः ॥ (§ 65)

सकृद्ग्रहाः कुलत्थाश्च हूणाः पारसिकैःसह ॥ (§ 66)

* * * *

खाशीराश्चांतचाराश्च पल्हवा गिरिगह्वराः (§68)

"The *Yavonas*, Chinas, Kambojas † Dârunas, and Mlechha tribes. The Sakritgrihas, Kulatthas, Hunas ‡ with *Pârasikas*. The Khâshiras, Antachâras, *Pahlavas* and Girigahvaras."

In the paras Nos. 42 and 51 we read about the *Magadhâs*, and *Sakas*. It will thus be seen, that the Yavanas, Parasikas, Pahlavas, Magadhâs and Sakas were looked upon as different tribes.

When did the Pahlavas come to India ?

As to the latest date assigned to the *present* form of the Mahâbhârâta. Mr. Vaidya says:—" We have the direct evidence of Rhetor Dion Chrysostom, that the Mahâbhârâta with its one lac of verses was well known even in South India in 50 A. D.....As the present Mahâbhârâta mentions the Yavanas admiringly, but does not anywhere mention the Râshis, one is justified in holding, that it was recast into its present shape some time between 300 and 100 B. C." (See Vaidya's Mahâbhârâta, p. 13 ff).

But in spite of this opinion of Mr. Vaidya. we have reasons to believe that the Mahâbhârata contains many later interpolations. We cannot therefore say definitely, when the

* See Roy's translation of Shanti Parva, Sec 65, Muir's Sk. Texts I. (p. 484). For references to Pahlavas in the Ramâyana, see Griffith's translation index.

* Mr. Roy correctly states in the footnote of his translation that the names are those of the tribes, and not of places or provinces. (p. 31)

† People of Kabul (Bom. Gaz I. Pt, p. 491, 498). ‡ Huns.

passages above referred to were written. This much however is certain that the Pârasikas and Pahlavas lived in India long before 50 A. D. According to Pandit Bhagvânlâl the Pahlavas came to India about B. C. 150 (Bom. Gaz. Pt. I., p. 144).

According to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer, seven leading hordes entered India from the north-west and west. The Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks came into India from about B. C. 250 to 125; the Pahlavas or Parthians from B.C. 170 to 100; the Sakas of two main hordes, namely the Su-Sakas about B C. 150 to 100 and the Kushans about B. C. 130 &c. (Bom. Gaz. IX pt. I, p. 455). Dr. Bhandarkar held, that the Pahlavas and Sakas made their appearance in the Andhrabhritya country at any time between A D. 16 and 133 A. D. (Id. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 317).

In his paper on Junagur inscriptions Dr. Bhau Daji says about the King Gautamiputrâ, the son of Padumâvi (about 120 A. D.) as follows:—"Gautamiputra boasts of having established the glory of the Satavâhana family, and of having defeated Sakas, Yavanas and *Pahlavas*" (B. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. VII, p. 117). This shows that the Pahlavas were in India in about 120 A. D.

Parasikas in Vishnu Purana.

(3) The Vishnu Purâna* contains names of tribes inhabiting Bhâratavarsha. It mentions, among others, the Kurus, Pânchâlas, *Mâgadhas*, Saurashtras, Hunas, *Parasikas*. (Wilson, Vol. II, p. 132f, Muir's Sk. Texts I, p. 495).

* Composed about 450 A. D. (See A K. Mozumdar's Hindu History, p 26) In the Mârkandeya Purâna there are three references to the Pahlavas in Chapters 57-58.

Parasikas in Mudra Rakshasha.

(4) It is seen from the Mudrâ Râkshasha,* that the Parsis helped Chandragupta in his invasion of Northern India. The Sanskrit passage runs thus:—

अस्ति तावत् शकयवनकिरातकांबोजपारसीक बाह्लीकप्रभृतिभिः चाणक्यमतिपरिगृहीतैः चंद्रगुप्त पर्वतेश्वरबलैः समन्तात् उपरुद्धं कुसुमपुरम् ॥

" Kusumapura (=Patliputra) is beseiged on all sides by Sakas, Yavanas, Kiratas, Kambojas, *Pârasikas*, Bâhlikas † and others, (who are) the forces of the King Chandragupta, (and who are) guided by the intellect of Chanakya."

On the authority of the same book, we know that पारसीको मेघनादः ‡ ("the Parsi named Meghanâda") was a Râjâ and friend of Chandragupta. (see Act V). The same name occurs in another passage (Act I, verse 20), where we read:—

मेघाख्यः पंचमोस्मिन् पृथुतुरगबलः पारसीकाधिराजा §

" Among these, the fifth is one of name the Megha, a great King of the Parsis, who has got a large cavalry."

This name *Megha* might be identified with the first part of the names *Maga-bâtis*, *Maga-pânas* $ &c , or it might be a purely Hindu name, used as in our own times.

* A Sanskrit drama written by Vishakhadatha in the 8th century A D. It embodied genuine historical traditions.

† These were not people of Baktria but of Multan in India (Bom. Gaz. I Pt. I p. 103).

‡ The other readings are मेघार्क, मेघाक्ष and मेघाख्यः In Prakri it is मेहणाद (See Telung's edition, pp. 221, 204).

§ See also idem p. 221.

$ Compare Moghistan (=land of Moghs or Magi) another name of Hormuz islan (See Dr. J. J. Modi's, Dastur Bahman Kaikobad & Kisseh-i-Sanjan, p. 46).

Pahlavas in Manu Smriti.

(5) In Manu Smriti (X-43, 44) written in about the 2nd century B. C., we come across the names of the foreign tribes inhabiting northern India, among whom we find the Yavanas, Sakas, *Pahlavas* &c.

The passage runs thus :—

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेण च ॥
पुण्ड्काश्चोड्र द्रविडाः कांबोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदा पल्हवाश्चीना किराताः दरदास्तथा ॥

Translation :—Gradually by omission of rites and by transgressing the orders of the Brahmans these Kshatri tribes, (namely) Pundras, Dravidas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas, *Pahlavas*, Chinas, Kiratas and Daradas have degenerated to the condition of the Sudras in the world."

Parasikas in Raghu Vamsa.

(6) In the Raghu Vamsa* (IV—60) we read about Raghu, the great grand-father of Râma as under :—

पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना

"Thence he set out by an inland route to conquer the *Parasikas*." The commentator explains that the *Parasikas* were "Mlechha Râjâs living on the banks of the river Sindhu or Indus." (सिंधुतटवासिनो म्लेच्छराजान्). This is quite correct, because the author Kâlidâs himself says further up (in verse No. 67), that the horses of Raghu relieved their fatigues by rolling on the banks of the river Sindu. The author also tells us, that Yavanas, Kambojas and Hunas were defeated by Raghu.

Much ingenuity has been spent by scholars to identify the event referred to by Kâlidâs. It is assumed on the grounds, which we consider extremely flimsy that the event must be one, which happened in the poet's life-time. Professor Pathak thinks that Kâlidâs took the description of the conquest of Raghu from the account of the conquest of the contemporary king Yashodharman (A. D.490-550) into Kashmir. Mr. Manmohan Chakravati identifies the event with the conquest of Skandagupta in the reign of the Persian King Piruz (A. D. 457-484,) son of Yazdgird II. The Ephtalites or White Huns helped Piruz against his brother in securing the throne of Persia, but afterwards he fought with them and was killed in the battle. The white Huns overran the territories of the Persians, which included the frontiers of India. Dr. Hoernle rejects the above theory, because Piruz had lost only Gandhar and not the country on the direct frontiers. According to him the Persian King was Kobad who with the help of the Huns removed his brother Jamasp from the throne (A. D. 499). The Huns fought with the Indian King Yashodharman. They were assisted by Kobad who lost Sindh and some eastern provinces. This is the loss referred to by Kâlidâs when he speaks of the defeat of the Parasikas.

Firdusi says nothing about loss of the Persian territories in the frontiers of India either in Piruz's or Kobad's time. From a passage in Tabari however (Zotenberg's French Tr., Vol. II, p. 221) it appears that a part of the Indian frontier belonged to the Persians in Beramgor's time. It passed back into the hands of an Indian king before Noshirwan's time.

We have nothing to say against the above historical events, but have we any substantial proof to show what was in the mind of Kâlidâs ?

Parasikas in Katha—Sarit Sagara.

(7) In the Katha-Sarit Sagara* (Vol I, Tr. pp. 150-151), we read :—

* Of Kalidas, the latest date assigned to whom is about 550 A.D. (See also Dr. Bhau Daji's Paper B. B. R. A. S. VI., p. 280.)

* Written by Somadeva in 12th century A D.

"*Udayana*, King of *Vasta* defeated the king of the *Chola** race..... Having subdued the King of Sindh at the head of his cavalry, he destroyed the Mlechhas The cavalry squadrons of the *Turushkas*† were broken on the masses of his elephants... ...The august hero received the tribute of his foes and cut off the head of the wicked king of the *Parasikas*. His glory after he had inflicted a defeat on the Hunas,‡ made the four quarters resound."

Now Udayana was a ruler of the country known as *Vatsa*, the capital of which was *Kaushambi*, near the modern Kosam about 30 miles above Allahabad. The king Udayana was a celebrated prince of the lunar race. He is the hero of the play named Ratnâvali, which is ascribed to Bâna, who lived in the latter half of the 6th century A D.

Cunningham refers to the story of *Udâyana* thus:—"The story of *Udâyana*, king of Kosâmbi is referred to by the poet Kâlidâs in his 'Megha-duta' or 'Cloud Messenger,' where he says that *Avanti* (or Ujain) is great with the number of those versed in the tale of Udâyana. Now Kâlidâs flourished shortly after A. D. 500. In the 'Vrihat Katha' of Somadeva, the story of Udâyana is given at full length.....Kosâmbi, the capital of Vatsa Raja, § is the scene of the pleasing drama of 'Ratnâvali' or the 'Necklace,' which was composed in the reign of King Harsh Deva, who is most probably the same as Harsha Vardhana of Kanoj (A. D. 607 io 650)." (See Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 392).

"The name of Udâyana was more famous among the Buddhists.....In the 'Lalita Vistâra,' which was *translated* into Chinese between 70 and 46 A. D., and which could not therefore have been composed later than the beginning of the Christian era, Udâyana Vatsa, son of Satânika, king of Kosâmbi is said to have been born on the same day as Buddha.....Hwen Thsang relates that the famous statue of Buddha, in red sandal-wood, which was made by King Udâyana during the life-time of the Teacher, still existed under a stone dome in the ancient palace of the kings." (idem, p. 393).

If Udâyana was a contemporary of Buddha,* the "wicked Parsi king" referred to above, lived in about the 5th century B. C. Could this king be Xerxes, who was killed in B. C. 465, and who was, according to some writers, (whom, however, we cannot believe) cruel and wicked?† Did Xerxes ever visit India? We know that Darius the father of Xerxes conquered the Indians, and subjugated India which was his 20th satrapy, and also that Xerxes in his expedition into Greece was furnished troops by the Indians. Xerxes is supposed by some to be Ahasuerus, who disgraced Vashti and made Esther his queen (Rawlinson's Herodotus II, 403; III, 32; IV, 4, 53, 215). It is possible that the Hindu writer may have confounded facts and wrongly attributed those connected with the father to the son. The evidence for the identification of the "wicked Parsi king" is, however, very meagre.

Pahlavas in Brihat Samhita.

(8) Al-Biruni in his India (Tr. by Dr. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 300) mentions the names of the people of India on the authority of the Vâyu

* Tamil people of Southern India, from whom the Croromandal coast (चोलमंडल) receives its name; they are mentioned in Asoka's inscriptions and also M. Bh.

† Turks (See Epigraphia Indica II. p. 181).

‡ Huns.

§ Or king of the Vatsas.

* He was also a contemporary of Ajâtashatri B. C. 496 to 473 (Hindu Hist. by A. K. Muzumdar p. 321.)

† See Pallonji B. Desai's Achæmenia; Hist. p. 340.

Purâna placing the *Pahlavas* among the people in the north.

In the same book (p. 302) he says, that according to the *Samhitâ* of Varâha-Mihira one of the names of the people in the South-west was *Pârasava i. e.* Persians.

Varâha-Mihira was a celebrated astronomer and the author of *Brihat-Samhita* &c He died in 587 A. D.

Turning to the Brihat Samhitâ of Varâha Mihira (chap. 14 §§ 17-19) we find that the people in the South-western direction were the *Pahlavas*, * Kâmbojas, Sindhu-Sauviras,.....Anartas... .....Yavanas .....*Parshavas*, Shudras, Barbaras, Kiratas,..... &c. (Dr. Kiru's Tr. J. R. A. S. NewSeries, Vol. 5, p. 84).

Kumarila Bhatta's Book.

(9) The most famous Mimânsâ treatise existing in India is *Kumarila Bhatta's Tantra-vâ ttika*, a commentary on Jaimini-sutrâs. Kumârila lived at the end of the seventh century A D While annotating on 1-3-10 Kumârila suggests, that by the application of affixes &c. it may be possible to convert Mlechchha words into Sanskrit words; then he says :—

यदा आंध्रद्राविडभाषायां ईदृशी स्वच्छन्द-कल्पना तदा पारसिकबर्बरयवनरोमकादिभाषासु किं विकल्प्य किं प्रतिपत्स्यन्ते इति न विद्मः।

"When such is the formation (of the words) at will in the Andhra-Dravida language,† we do not know how they are formed and used in the *Pârasika*, Barbara, Yavana, Romaka and other languages."

This suggests that the language of the Parsis was studied in India by learned Hindus in or about 700 A.D.*

Legends About Pahlavas.

(1) We come across a few legends about the Pahlavas in Sanskrit works. In the Harivamsha (v 1425 ff) we are told that Kusha had four sons Kushika, Kushanâbha, Kushâmba and Moortimat. Kushika was the grand-father of the well-known Vishvâmitra † Now as regards Kushika, the author says :—

पह्लवैः सह संवृद्धो राजा वनचरैस्तदा। कुशिकस्तु तपस्तेपे पुत्रं इंद्रसमं विभुः॥

"Growing among the Pahlavas, the glorious king Kushika practised austere penance to get a son equal to Indra." Indra was pleased, and Kushika begot a son named Gâdhi, who became the king of Kânyakubja (Kanouj) and was the father of Vishvâmitra (See Muir's Sk. Texts, I, pp. 351, 390.)

It would appear from this legend, that the Pahlavas lived in India in the Rigvedic times, to which Vishvâmitra belonged, but we have reasons to believe, that the legend must have originated in far later times.

(2) In the Adi Parva of the Mahâbhârata (v. 6638 ff), we have an interesting legend of Vasishtha and Vishvâmitra, who were bitter enemies of each other. Once upon a time when out hunting, Vishvâmitra came to the hermitage of Vasishtha, who received his rival with great honour. He gave to Vishvâmitra precious jewels &c, which were obtained from his wonder-working cow. The cupidity of Vishvâmitra was aroused,

* The Pahlavas are also referred to in Brihat Samhitâ Chap. XVI-38, XVII-6 and the same author's Samâsa-Samhitâ (J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. 5, pp. 235—236,—242) It may be stated that there were five Varâha Mihiras known to history (1) The first author of Vrihat Samhitâ in 58 B. C. (2) The author of a revised edition of Brahma Siddhânta in 80 A. D. (3) The author of the present Vrihat Samhitâ in 505 A. D. (4) The author of Pancha Siddhântikâ in the 6th C. A. D. (5) He who lived in 1600 A. D. (A. K. Mozumdar's Hindu History, p. 64).

† Tamil language.

* See also Indian Antiquary, I, p. 310.

† According to the Vishnu Purâna, *Kushâmba* was the grand-father (Wilson, pp. 398-400.)

and so he asked Vasistha to give him that animal in exchange for a hundred million cows or even his kingdom When Vasistha did not comply with his demand, Vishvâmitra threatened to use force. He dragged the cow,* beat her and pushed her hither and thither, but she would not move. She became very angry, and in order to punish Vishvâmitra and his army, she created *Pahlavas*, Drâvidas, Sakas, Yavanas, Kirâtas and other tribes from her body. (The words of the poet are :—असृजत् पह्लवान् पुच्छात् प्रस्रवाद् द्रविडान् शकान्। योनिदेशाच्च यवनान् शकृतः शबरान् बहून् ॥)

Beholding this great miracle, the product of Brahmanical might, Vishvâmitra was humbled at the impotence of a Kshatriya nature, and exclaimed :—

धिग् बलं क्षत्रियबलं ब्रह्मतेजो बलं बलं। बलाबलं विनिश्चित्य तप एव परं बलम् ॥

"Shame on a Kshatriya's strength; the strength of a Brahman's lustre is strength (indeed). Determining (what is) strength and (what is) weakness, (we see that) penance is the greatest strength."

This legend is also found in Râmâyana (I, chap. 51-65.)†

The substance of the legend seems to be, that the Brahmans destroyed the force of the Kshatriyas with the assistance of foreigners, such as Pahlavas, Sakas, Yavanas and others. We are unable to say, to what time this legend relates, but it cannot be very old.

* The fable of Vasishtha's wonderful cow Nandini is also referred to in the Nagpur stone inscription dated Samvat 1161 or A. D. 1104-5 (Epigraphia Indica, III p. 190.)

† For comments &c., see Muir's Sk. Texts, I, pp. 391, 397). Does this legend refer to the forces raised by Chandragupta?

CHAPTER No. 3.

Persians mentioned in inscriptions.

Having seen the references to the Parsis and Persians in Sanskrit books, we now propose to give those in inscriptions. They are in Aramaic, Sanskrit and Pali languages.

Taxila Inscriptions.

(1) Sir J. H. Marshall has found an Aramaic inscription on the site of the ancient city of Taxila. It is carved on a fragment of a pillar of white marble and is incomplete. In the 7th line Prof. Cowley reads the words "*this Vohuvarda*," and compares the name with the Persian "*Huvardhi*." In the 9th and 12th lines he reads a word (Marhaz?) which, he says, was the title of a Persian governor. He ascribes the inscription to about 450 B. C. and thus concludes :—"Taxila was the chief city of the Kharosthi district. The view that Aramaic was officially used by the Achæmenians, that after their conquest of Northern India about 500 B. C. it became current there, and that Kharosthi was derived from it in this way, is thus being gradually confirmed" (J R. A. S., 1915, pp. 340-346.)

Girnar Inscription.

(2) The most remarkable inscription of the Shah Kings is that on a bridge near Girnar at Junagadh in Kathiawar, known as Rudra Dâman's bridge.....We shall give important extracts from the inscription hereafter. We are told therein that the ancient bridge was swept away by an inundation, that it was repaired by Pushpagupta, whose sister Chandragupta had married and who was of Vaishya caste, that it was subsequently repaired by *Tushâspa*, the Yavana Râja, an officer of Asoka, and that finally it was constructed

by the great satrap Rudra Dâman in the year 72 (Saka, *i. e.* 150 A. D.)*

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer, who notes this passage, rightly observes, that *Tushâspa* is called *Yavana Râja*, and the use of the word Râja † shows, that he was a dignitary of high rank. That he is called *Yavana Râja* does not prove that he was a Greek. All the scholars unanimously admit, that he was a Persian viceroy or governor.

Girnar Inscription–(*Continued.*)

(3) In 1862 Dr. Bhau Daji read a paper, on the abovesaid inscription at Junagadh in which he said, that the name of the actual builder of the bridge on the lake *Sudarshana*‡ near Girnar was the *Pahlava* minister of Rudradâman named *Suvishâkha*, a Sanskrit adaptation of the Persian name *Siâvaksha*. His father's name was *Kulaipa*, and Siâvaksha appeared to have been the Governor of Anarta and Saurashtra (that is, Kathiawar.) §

* * *

[Some comments on the derivation of the names above given may not be out of place. As the Pali *l* stood for *r*, we think, that *Kulaipa* would be the same as *Khura-pa*, "protector of the sun;" or *Kura-pa* might mean "protector of the blind." §

As regards the name Suvishâkha the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says:—"The name Suvishâkha, as Dr. Bhau Daji suggests, may be a Sanskritised form of Siâvaksha. One of the Karle inscriptions gives a similar name Sovasaka, apparently a corrupt Indian form of the original Persian, from which the Sanskritised Suvisâkha must have been formed. Sovasaka is mentioned in the Karle inscription as an inhabitant of Abulâmâ, apparently the old trade mart of Obollah at the head of the Persian Gulf. This trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the Western India seaboard must have led to a settlement, from very early times, of Pahlavas, who gradually became converted to Buddhism" (Bom Gaz. Vol. I, pt. I, p. 35; IX, pt. I. p. 433.]

* * *

We shall now give here important extracts from the Sanskrit inscription of Rudradâman at Junagadh referred to above, which has been reproduced and translated in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. VII, pp. 257-263)* by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji and Dr. G. Buhler. In the preface the writers observe:—"From the following inscription it appears that an artificial lake, called Sudarsána, was situated at the foot of the Girnar. It had first been dug by the brother-in-law of the Maurya king Chandragupta, a Vaisya called Pushyagupta, and had been adorned with outlets by Tushâspa, the Yavana governor of Asoka. In the 72nd year† of Rudradâman's reign, on the first day of the dark half of

* Dutt Anc. India, Vol. II. p 46; Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. pt. II pp. 13-14; V. Smith Hist, of India p. 125; J R. A. S. 1915, p 72.

† The word *Râja* may simply mean a "ruler" or even "archon" or "consul" (Rhys-David's Buddhism p. 92)

‡ Referred to in Rudradâman's inscription mentioned above.

§ See B. B. R. A. S. Journal Vol, VI, p. 114. Quoted in Thomas' Essay on Bactrian Coins ft. note p 104. See also Ind Ant. VII—263 and Bomb. Gaz. XIII. Pt. II p. 414; XIII Pt. I p. 443; I—p. 64.

§ Dr. Buhler suggests "Khoraib" in S. B. E. XXV. Intro. p. 115.

* See also Bhavanagar State Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, pp 20 21.

† This refers to the era used on the coins, and not the length of Rudradaman's reign. Rudradâman the son of Jayadâman ruled from A. D. 143 to 158. He was probably the greatest of the Western Kshatrapas. (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I. 34).

Mârgashirsha, a heavy storm, attended by a copious rainfall, happened, quite out of season, and so much increased the force of the current of the rivers, which flowed through the lake, that it destroyed a great portion of the embankment, which closed the latter. The water of the lake ran off, and its loss no doubt caused great inconvenience to the inhabitants of Junâgadha.

A little later the dyke was repaired by the Pahlava Suvisâkha, who as Rudradâman's governor of Surâshtra (southern Kathiavâd) and Anarta (northern Kathiâvad) resided at Junâgad."

The inscription runs thus :—

इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगराद्रिपादरम्... पर्वतपादप्रतिस्पर्द्धि सुश्लिष्ट (बंधं)

"This Sudarsana lake at the foot of Girinagar hill.....possesses a well-joined construction rivalling the spurs of the mountain."

×××× तदिदं राज्ञो.....महाक्षत्रपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्तनाम्नो रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे ७२ मार्गशीर्षबहुलप्र (तिपदि).....सुसृष्ट वृष्टिना पर्जन्यनेन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेः ऊर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकतापलाशिनीप्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्वृत्तैर्वेगैः सेतुम..... कार्यमाणानुरूपप्रतिकारमपि गिरिशिखरतरुतटाट्टालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणोच्छ्रयविध्वंसिना युगनिधनसदृशपरमघोरवेगेन वायुना प्रमथितसलिलविक्षिप्तजर्जरीकृता.....

"This same (*lake was destroyed*) in the 72nd year of the king, the great Kshatrapa Rudradâman, whose name is repeated by great men, on the *(first day)* of the dark half of the month Mârgasirsha..... when in consequence of the rain which had fallen very copiously, the earth had become as it were, one ocean, by the excessive swelling of the currents of the Palâsini, Suvarnasikatâ and other rivers, which (*come*) from Mount Urjayat, the embankment &c.....In spite of suitable devices employed, an extremely furious hurricane, similar to the storm at the Deluge, throwing down hill-tops, trees, rocks, terraces, *(pieces of)* the neighbouring ground, gates, houses and pillars of victory, violently stirred the water, which displaced and broke *(this lake.)*"

×××× मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चंद्रगुप्तस्य राष्ट्रियेण वैश्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं। अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य ते (न) यवनराजेन तुषास्पेनाधिष्ठाय प्रनाळीभिः अलंकृतं तत्कारितया च राजानुरूपकृतविधानया ×××× प्रणाळया

"The Vaishya Pushyagupta, the brother-in-law of the Mauryan King Chandragupta had caused (it) to be constructed. It had been adorned with conduits under the superintendence of that* Yavanarâja Tushâspa of the Maurya, Asoka; with the conduit made by him and the construction of which was worthy of a king" &c.

Note:—Then we have a long passage, which refers to the glory and kingdom of Rudradâman.

महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गोब्राह्म... ...र्थम धर्मकीर्तिवृद्ध्यर्थं च अपीडयित्वा करविष्टिप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात् कोशात् महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुणदृढतरविस्तारायामं सेतुं विधाय..... सुदर्शनतरं कारितं इति।

"The great Kshatrap Rudradâman, for the sake of a thousand years, for the sake of .....cows and Brahmans and for the increase of his merit and fame, has rebuilt (the embankment) three times stronger in breadth and length, in not a very long time, expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town by (*exacting*) taxes, forced labour or donations, (and)..... has made the lake more beautiful."

तस्मिन्नर्थे महाक्षत्रपस्य मतिसचिवकर्मसचिवैः अमात्यगुणसमुदयुकतैः अपि अतिमहत्वात् भेदस्य अनुत्साहविमुखमतिभिः प्रत्याख्यातारंभं पुनः सेतुबंधनैः आश्यान् हाहाभुतासु प्रजासु इहाधि-

*That means "the celebrated"; "it is not improbable that he was more than a mere official" (footnote by Dr. Buhler).

ष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानां आनर्तसुराष्ट्राणां पालनार्थनियुक्ततेन पल्हवेन कुलैपपुत्रेण अमात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थधर्म व्यवहारदर्शनैः अनुरागम् अभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेन अचपलेन अविस्मितेन आर्येण अहार्येण स्वधितिष्ठता धर्मकीर्तियशांसि भर्तुः अभिवर्द्धयत अनुष्ठितम् इति ।

"When in this affair the great Kshatrap's advisers and engineers, though possessed of the qualifications of ministers, lost heart on account of the enormous size of the gap and gave up the undertaking and when the people, despairing of seeing the embankment rebuilt, began to lament, *(the work)* was accomplished by the minister Suvisâkha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who has been appointed by the king, out of kindness towards the town and country people, to protect the whole of Anarta and Surâshtra, who by the proper dispensation of justice in matters of money and merit, increases the affection *(of the subjects)*, who is able, of subdued senses, neither nasty nor wanting in prescience of mind, of noble family and unconquered, who *governs well* and increases the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

As we have already seen "Siâvaksha appears to have been the governor of Anarta and Surâshtra." (B. B. R. A. S., VII 7, p. 114.)

Karli Inscription.

(4) The great rock temp'es in and near Thana district, which date from the centuries before and after Christ, seem to have been planned and sculptured by Parthian or Persian artists. *Harphâran* of Abulâmâ,* whose name appears in one of the Karli inscriptions (namely inscription No. 20) was a Parthian or a Persian. The inscription runs thus:—

राज्ञवासर्वापुतस सरपुदुमावस सवछर चतुवीसो २४ उपासकस हरफरनस सतुपरणपुत्रस्य सेवसकस अवुलोमय वथवस्य रमदेय धम ।

* Obollah, a port near Basra on the Persian Gulf.

The Sanskrit of the above Pali passage is as under:—

राज्ञः वासर्वीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुदुमावस्य संवत्सरे २४ उपासकस्य हरफरनस्य सतुपरणपुत्रस्य सेवासक्तस्य अवुलोम वास्तव्यस्य रम्यदायधर्मः ।

"In the 24th year of the King Shri Pudumâva, son of Vâsava, (this) beautiful religious assignation (is made) of the mendicant Harapharana, son of Satru-parana, the devoted inhabitant of Abulâma" (B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, p. 158.)*

In his "Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India" (p. 36) Dr. Burgess reads the above inscription somewhat differently as follows:—

रञो पासिठिपुतस सिरिपुलिमावेस सवछरे चतुविसे २४ ..... उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरणपुत्तस्य सोवसकस्य अवुलामाय वथवस्य इम देयधम मटपो

Sanskrit of the above:—

राज्ञो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलिभावेः संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ ..... उपासकस्य हरफरणस्य सेतफरणपुत्रस्य सोवकस्य अवुलामायां वास्तव्यस्यायं देयधर्ममंडपो ।

"The King Vasithiputa, the illustrious Pulimâvi in the year (*of his reign*) twenty-four, 24, this meritorious gift of a mandapa by the *Upâsaka* Harapharana, son of Setapharana, Sovasaka, native of Abulâmâ &c."

With reference to the names in the above inscription Dr. G. Buhler remarks:—"Harapharana and Setapharana are clearly two Persian names. The former corresponds with the Greek Horophernes or Holophernes. The latter part of both, *pharana* is the Persian *frana* 'lord'. Seta is perhaps the ancient *Khshaeta* and the modern *Shed.*"

Dr. Burgess says "the names of the Upâsaka Harapharana and his father Setapharana are unlike any in use in India and may possibly be of

*Dr Stevenson's translation of the passage (in B.B.R.A S., Vol. V, p. 158.) is not correct,

Parthians. The name of their family *Sovasvka* has a resemblance to Syâvaka, but their native place Abulâmâ has not an Indian name."*

The name "Harapharana" is composed of two words "Har or Ar," which is the first part of the name "Arâspes" and "Pharana" (=Hvarena) which is the first part of the name Fârandâtes."

The first part of the name Satruparana" might be the same as the first word in "Satro-pâtes."

As the word *upâsâka* is generally used for Buddhist mendicants, it appears that Harapharana was a Zoroastrian at one time and he subsequently became a convert to Buddhism.

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer thinks that the above identification of Harapharana supports the close connection by sea between the Parthians and West coast of India in the centuries before and after the Christian era. The animal capitals of the pillars at Karli, Bedsa and Nasik are so closely alike to those at Persepolis and Susa, that according to Fergusson the early Buddhists of Western India either belonged to the Persian empire or drew their art from it. Rawlinson's description of the Halls at Hatra (Anc. Mon. VI, 379) has several points of likeness to Western India Cave temples; for example, semicircular vaulted roofs, no windows, the light coming through an archway at the east end and a number of small rooms opening from a central hall. Among the Sopâra relics the resemblance between Maitreya's head-dress, and the Parthian helmet adopted by Mithridates I about 150 B. C. is worthy of notice (Bom. Gaz., XIII, pp. 413,421, 429).

Inscriptions of Nahapaṇa's Family.

(5) There are six inscriptions of Nahapâna's family in the cave at Nasik, one at Karli and one by Nahapâna's minister at Junnar. The Karli inscription No. 13 is as follows :—

रञो खहरातस खतपस नहपानस जामातरा दिनिकपुतेन उसभदातेन त्रिगोसतसहसदेण नदिया वणासयं सुवण [ति] रथकरेण [देवा] ण ब्रह्मणानं सोळस गामदे (न) पथासे पूततिथे ब्रह्मणाणं अठभायाप [देण]

Sanskrit of the above :—

राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दिनीकपुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन नद्यां वार्णशायां सुवर्णतीर्थकरणे देवेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन प्रभासे पूततीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यो अष्टौ भार्याप्रदेन।

"Usabhadâta son of Dinika and son-in-law of the king Khaharâta Khatapa Nahapâna, the giver of 3,00,000 cows, having given gold and being a visitor to *tirtha* at the Banâsâ river, * the giver of sixteen villages to gods and Brahmans at the holy place Prabhâsa † the giver of eight wives to Brahmans &c." (Inscriptions from Cave Temples by Burgess, p. 33.)

Further up we are told that at Valuraka (a monastic establishment at Kârle) Usabhadata gave the village of Karajaka to the *sangha* of ascetics.

In the Nasik cave inscription No. 4, the text of the inscription is the same up to भायापदेण (भार्यापदेन). Then we read :—

भरुकछे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे चतुशालावसथप्रतीश्रयप्रदेन आरामतडाग-उदपानकरेण इत्रा-पारादादमण तापीकरवेण-दाहनुकानावापुण्यतरकरेण एतासांच नदीनां उभतो [य] तीर (रे) सतत्र [सभा].

"At Bharukachha (Broach), Dasapura, Govardhana and Shorparaga (Sopârâ) he made square buildings for houses of shelter;

*Inscriptions from Cave-Temples p. 37, also Archæological Survey of India, IV, p. 113

* This river flows from the base of Abu into the Run of Cachh; it may also be the river in eastern Rajputana flowing into the Chambal.

† Somanâtha Pattana.

he made gardens, tanks, and watering places; he placed charitable ferry-boats on the rivers Ibâ, Pâradâ, Damana, Tâpi, Karavenâ, Dâhanukâ* and places for the charitable distribution of water on both sides of these rivers." (B. B. R. A. S., Vol V, pp. 49-50.)

Now Khaharâta and Nahapâna of the above inscriptions were Persians or Parthians according to several scholars. Dr Stevenson says:— "The Nasik cave inscriptions Nos 4, 5, 6 and 7 were excavated by the son-in-law of one of the Kshatrapas or Satraps of the Parthian monarchs, who, about the commencement of the Christian era, reigned over Western India. The Kshatrapa's name is Nahapânaṭ, and the sovereign's Kshaharâta. Neither of these names is Indian. The latter however is not unlike Phrahates and may not improbably be intended for the fourth Parthian monarch of that name who reigned about B. C. 22. The son-in-law named Ushavadâta,‡ son of Dinika was evidently from these names a Hindu. His wife, too, named Dakshamitrâ had no doubt an Indian Mother." (B. B. R. A. S., V, p. 40).

In his paper on the Junagadh inscriptions Dr. Bhau Daji takes "Ksahharâta" to be equivalent to Phrahates, "a satrap of the Parthian dynasty." (B B. R. A. S., VII., p. 117). Elsewhere he speaks about the Parthian King Nahapâna (B B. R. A. S, VII, p XIX) Dr. J. F Fleet says:—"I hold that the (Śâka) era was founded by the Kshaharâta § King Nahapâna, who reigned in Kathiawar and over some of the neighbouring territory as far as Ujjain from A. D 78 to about A. D 125 and held for a time Nasik and other parts north of Bombay, and who seems to have been a Pahlava or Palhava, *i.e.* of Parthian extraction."* (J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 992-993).

It appears from the Junnar inscription No. 26 that Nahapâna may have become an independent ruler in course of time; for, we read therein:—

[रञ्ञो] महाखतपस सामिनहपानस [आ] मात्यस वछसगोतस अयमस देयधम.

Sanskrit:—

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिनहपाणस्यामात्यस्य वत्सगोत्रस्यायमस्य देयधर्मः

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* Ambikâ, Pâr, Damangangâ, Tapti, Kaveri and Dâhânu (Bom Gaz, I, Pt. I. p. 25). See also Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol IV, pp. 9-100).

† A D. 78-120 (Bom. Gaz. I III, p. 24).

‡ A. D., 100-120 (Idem p. 25) also Bom. Gaz. XIII p. 142.

§ We discuss below the derivations of some of the names in the inscriptions:—

Khaharâta—The Avestan *kha* is changed to *fa* in Persian; compare *vukhta*=P *jofta; aokhta*=P, *goft*. Now if we apply the Avestan rule, to Sanskrit, we have Sk. *khaharâta*=P. *Faharâta*, which by dropping the aspirate *ha* would become *Farâta* =Phrâtes=Fravartas.

Nahapâna—Its latter part is clearly Iranian; compare Marzanân, Yazdânpân &c. The first part *Naha* is probably a short form of *Narsha*; compare Kâhâpana=Kârshâpana. The whole name would mean= "protector of men."

Usabhadâta or Usavadâta.—This name might be made up of *ushâo+dâda*(=given by dawn). Cf *Atharo-dâd* (=given by fire). The latter part of the name is *dâta*, which shows that it could not be a Hindu name; otherwise we would expect *data* (=*datta*) as in the names Sulâsadata, Utardata Râmadata, Vinudata, (=Vishnudata) (&c., B B R.AS, Vol. V. p. 171). Since he gave 16 villages in honour of the *Devas*, we think he had become a convert to the Hindu faith. His father's name was *Dinika*, which looks like the Persian name *Dinyâr* and the name *Dinidâru*.

Note:—Usabhadâta was a Saka according to the Nasik inscription No. 14 (See Bom Gaz. I, Pt. I, p. 25, also, Archæological Report of Western India Vol. IV. p. 101). Now according to Mr. Rapson some of the Sakas were connected with the Pahlavas in about the first century B C. and first century A.D. (Rapson's Anc. India, p. 138). Maues was a Saka This also shows that Usabhadâta may have been a Parthian or Persian at first.

* Mr. R. Banerji disputes that the Saka era was founded by Nahapâna, as he places the date of Nahapâna in the end of the last century B.C., or the beginning of the first century A.D. (J.R.A.S. 1 17, p. 259. See also Bom. Gaz I, Pt I, 26 ff)

"The meritorious gift ... of Ayama of the Vachhasagotra, prime minister of the King Mahakhatapa (*great satrap*) the *lord* Nahapâna". (Inscriptions from Cave Temples pp. 51–52. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, p. 169.)

Pahlavas In Nasik Inscription.

(5) In the Nasik cave inscription No 1. we come across the names of the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. In that inscription it is stated that the King Gotamiputra was the ruler of the provinces of Mundaka, Saurâshtra, Kukura, Aparânta, Anupa and Vidarbha, and was the lord of the Vindhya and Paryâtra (western part of the Vindhya) mountains, the Sahya (Western Ghauts) and Kanha (Kanheri) hills &c. He subdued Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas about whom we read as under :—

खतिय दपमाने मदनेस सक यवन पलहव-नीसूदनस "(Of him) the Kshatriya , who flaming like the god of love, subdued the Sakas, Yavavas and Palhavas"* (B.B.R.A.S , V., p. 41).

Inscription on the Manikiala† stone.

(7) Learned attempts have been made by eminent scholars, like M. Senart, Prof. Luders and Mr. Pargiter to decipher this important inscription, and its reading may now be taken as almost certain. We make no apologies to give some extracts of Mr. Pargiter's paper on the subject given in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1914 (p. 641 ff). We have adopted Mr. Pargiter's translation with slight modifications. The inscription is in Kharosthi script, and is written in Prakrit or Pali language. It contains some Iranian words, such as पुर्वस्प (Av—Puru-aspa), वेस्पशि or वेएशि (=Vese, Av. Vaeska), स्पन्तक (Av. Spenta=Holy one), and करप (=priest of hostile religion). It also contains pure Sanskrit and Greek words, such as संवर्धक and होर respectively.

The inscription stone was put up in a market place, close to the object of donation, which was most probably an instrument for measuring time. The donation was a joint gift of a Zoroastrian donor and a Buddhist priest.

I give below Mr. Pargiter's reading,* omitting the first and last two lines, which are not important for our purpose :—

सं १८ क्षथ्रपुर्वस्प महरजस कनिष्कस गुपणोवशसंवर्धक ललनो जनयगो वेस्पशिस छत्रपस होरमुर्तमतस अपणगे विन्हति होर-मुर्तोअश्वनन भणव शुधनव पति स्थवयेति ॥ सह तअेन वेस्पशिएन खुदेन्तिएन बुरित्रेणच विहरकरफण्ण संवेण च परिवेषण ॥ सधक दन कुशलमुलेन बुधेहि च स्पन्तकहि च सच सद भवतु ॥

If turned into Sanskrit, the above inscription would run thus :—

सं १८ क्षत्रपुर्वस्पः महराज्ञः कनिष्कस्य गुपणवंशसंवर्धकललनः जन-आर्यकः वेस्पशि (स्य) क्षत्रपस्य होरमुहूर्तासक्तस्य आपणके विहार्न्तिम् होरमुहूर्तआश्वनना (abl) भाणा (abl) वा शुद्धज्ञापनं प्रतिष्ठापयति ॥ सह तेन वेस्प-शिना खुदेन्तिना बुरित्रेण च विहारकरफेण

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* Gotamiputra son of Pudumâvi ruled in 120 A. D., according to the Bom. Gaz. He was the most distinguished monarch of the Shâtakarni or Andhra dynasty. In the Archæological Survey of India Vol. IV., (pp. 108–109) the reading of the above passage is as follows :—
खातियदपमानमदनस सकयवनपलहवनिसूदनस
"Of him who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Ksh triyas—of him who destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. '

† Manikiâla inscription is a Kharoshthi record from the Rawal Pindi District (J. R.A.S., 1914, p. 373).
Manikiâla was one of the most famous places in the Panjab at a very early period. The old town was called *Mânikpur* or *Mânikṇagar*. It was on the South-east of Peshâwar, and also of Taxila but nearer the latter namely about 34 miles from it. (Cunningham's Anc. Geography of India, pp. 104 and 121 ff and Archæo. Reports, II., p. 152 ff)

* The inscription is referred to also by Sir A. Cunningham in his Archæological Reports II, p. 163.

सर्वेण च परिवारेण ॥ साधकदानं कुशलमूलेन बुधेहि च स्पन्तकहि च सत्यं सदा भवतु ॥

Translation:—"In the year 18, the King Puru-aspa, the son (ललन) and aggrandiser of the Kushan race of Kanishaka, the nobleman of the people, establishes in the market place of the Satrap Vespashi, who is fond of the hours, (*i.e. muhurtâs*), a *vihanti* (=a clock ?) for clear announcement through the ringing or proclamation of the hours, (*i.e. muhurtâs*),—along with Vespashi, with Khudenti and with Buritra, the priest of the *Vihâra* (Buddhist monastry) and with all attendants. May the useful gift, by (its) meritorious foundation, with (the aid of) Buddha and Spenta (=the Holy one), be always true."

* * *

[A few annotations on important words are given below :—

Kshatra Puru-aspa—Mr. Pargiter supposes this to be the Iranian equivalent of the country (क्षत्र) *Ashvaka* (in Sanskrit) and *Aspasioi* (in Greek) (Mr. Crindle's Anc. India., pp. 22, 33). But the full name is *Puru-aspa*, not *Aspa;* hence we take *Puru-aspa* to be a proper name for *Pourushashpa*. *Kshathra* is an Avestan word, which means "king." Mr. Pargiter takes the word *Kshathra* in its other sense, namely "realm," and taking ललन as a proper noun, he translates the first two lines thus :—

"In the year 18, Lalana, the President of the people, the aggrandiser of the Gushan race of Kanishka, the great king of the realm Puru-aspa, establishes &c."

We take ललन as a common noun, forming a compound with संवर्धक. If संवर्धक is a form of the nominative singular, पुर्वस्प would also be the same. It is to be noted that the nominative singular also ends in ओ as we see in ललनो and जनयगो. This is both after the Prakrit and Avestan fashion. The writer at times uses Avestan forms; in गुपणोवंश the compound is formed according to the rules of Avesta grammar, since its first member is in the nominative singular*. The instrumental forms such as तएन and करफएन instead of तेन and करेफेण show Avestan influence.

Vespashi—This word has been read by Pro. Luders as *Ve-eshi*. Could this be *Vese*, Avestan *Vaeska* ?

Khudenti is read as *Khujachi* by Prof. Luders.

Karapa—This is an Iranian word. As Mr. Pargiter says :—"No Buddhist title such as *swâmin* is used, but the Iranian word *Karpan*, which was applied to teachers and priests hostile to the Zoroastrian religion, is used"

Hora—This is the Greek word, meaning "hour." The word *muhûrta* is used as its equivalent, or as the nearest Indian approach, since *muhûrta* contains 48 minutes. *Hora* would have been familiar in the Greco-Bactrian states and to the author of this inscription, but not to the Indians. Hence the use of both the words in apposition.

Vihanti—This is a doubtful word. The meaning of the word (*Ghati*) (water-clock) would suit admirably, but the two words cannot be connected linguistically. The context suggests, that it must be the name of some instrument for measuring time.

Budhehi and *Spentakehi*—Might be genitive singular after the Avesta fashion. Mr. Pargiter takes them as crude instrumental plural

* The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound is well known in inscriptions ; Cf. *pitâ-tvaranâ* (Epigraphia Indica, II, p. 195 ; also I. p. 375.)

Instead of सच सद we might adopt the reading सचसन (सत्यासन) "seat of truth." In that case the last line might be rendered thus:—
"May the useful gift, by its meritorious foundation, be the seat of truth of the Buddha and the Spenta."]

* * *

CHAPTER No. 4.

References to Persians in History.

In this Chapter, we give references to the Persians in historical works and books of standard authors, pointing out what we know about their religion.

Parthians in Gujarat and Sindh.

(1) Ferishta speaks of an Indian king named Sinsârchand who paid tribute to the Iranian king Godrej. The latter was a Parthian king. Briggs thought that Sinsârchand was Sandrocotus or Chandragupta; but in our opinion this does not appear to be correct. (Brigg's Ferishtâ, Vol. I.)

(2) Major-General Cunningham says:— "Thathâ was the actual position of the *Minhâbari* of the Arab geographers, and of the *Min-nagar* of the author of the Periplus....The name *Manhâbari* is variously written as *Mehâbari* and *Manjâbari*, for which we might perhaps read *Mandâbari* or *Mandâwari* 'the city of the *Mand* tribe.' This *Mand* tribe is referred to by Edrisi, Ibn Haukal, Rashid-ud-din and Masudi. The name is variously written as *Mer*, *Med*, *Mand* and *Mind*. "The *Mand* tribe occupied Lower Sindh in great numbers from the beginning of the Christian era. To this people I refer the name of *Min-nagar* or 'city of Min,' which was the Capital of Lower Sindh in the second century of the Christian era. *Min* was a Scythian name....The appearance of the name in Sindh would alone be sufficient to suggest the presence of Scythians; but its connection with them is placed beyond all doubt by the mention, that the rulers of *Min-nagar* were rival *Parthians* who were mutually expelling each other.* These Parthians were

* Peripl. Mar. Eryth; in Hudson's Georg. Vol. I-22. These contending Parthians must have been the remnant of the Karen Pahlavas who joined with the Kushâns to attack Ardeshir Papakan (Journ. As. 1866, VII-134. Bom. Gaz I, Pt. I, p 544.)

Dahæ Scythians from the Oxus, who gave the name of Indo-Scythia to the valley of the Indus." (Ancient Geography of India, pp. 289-292.)

(3) According to Lieut-Col. James Tod:—" Arrian, who resided in the second century at Barugaza (Broach,) described a Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbadda. Their capital was Minagara." (Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 179)

Indo-Parthian Kings.

(1) The Indo-Parthian dynasty, which ruled in the Panjab from 120 B.C. to 60 A.D. is of the greatest interest for us. Mithridates I. of Parthia* annexed the country between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jhlam) or in other words, the kingdom of Taxila, towards the close of his reign, in or about 138 B.C. That kingdom, the western Panjab, seems to have formed an integral part of the Parthian dominion for a few years, but upon the death of Mithridates I about 136 B. C., the control of the government over the outlying provinces was relaxed; and about 120 B.C. a chieftain named Maus (Moa=Mahâ) † made himself king of Taxila, and enjoyed practical independence. Some of his coins bear legend राजाधिराजस महतस मोअस " of Moa the great king of kings."

Besides the coins of the great Moga or Moa and his successors, those of Vonones, Spalahores, Spalirises and Spalagadames were found in Peshawar and the districts on the west bank of the Indus (Cunningham's Archæological Reports, II, p. 59.)

(2) Mithridates II suppressed the independence of Sistan with its appanages, and incorporated those provinces in the Parthian empire. Azes (or Aya), who was deprived of Arachosia (Kandhâr) was permitted to succeed Maus at Taxila and to establish a dynasty there (90 B. C.) The legend on his coins is महाराजस राजराजस महतस अयस " of Aya, the great, the great king, the king of kings."

(3) Azes was succeeded by his son Azilises (Ayilisha)* in 40 B. C. He ruled for 25 years. He was succeeded by Azes II in 15 B. C.

(4) Then came Gondophares in 20 A. D., and ruled up to 60 A. D. He extended his authority over Arachosia, Sistan and the valley of the lower Indus. In his coins, his name is written as Gadaphras. † Lastly came Abdagases (Avadagasha.) In the latter part of the 1st century A.D. the author of the Periplus found the valley of the Lower Indus, which, he called Scythia, under the rule of Parthian chiefs. At this time the Sakas, Yueh-chi and other nomad hordes from the steppes of Central Asia were swarming down upon the North-Western frontier of India. Abdagases reigned for a short time and his kingdom passed into the hands of foreigners. (V. Smith's Catalogue of Coins, pp. 33, 36, and Hist. of India, pp. 202-7.)

We have to note, that " there was an intimate connection between the family of the Pahlava Volones and that of Maus. This connection is proclaimed by certain coins, on which the brother of the king, Volones, is definitely associated to Azes. The family of Volones ruled in Seistan, Kandhâr and North Baluchistan, and that of Maus ruled in Punjab and Sindh, until towards the end of the 1st quarter of the first

* Von Gutschmid referring to Orosius (V-4) and Diodorus attributes to Mithridates the annexation of the old kingdom of Poros without war.

† Rapson says (and he is supported by Cunningham, vide Anc Ge graphy of India, p. 178), that Maues is identified with *Moga*, which name is a dialectical variant of *Moa* (Ancient India, p. 141). Dr. Fleet disputes this (J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 798.)

* *Ayilish* or *Avirish* is the Avestan word *Airya*. Dr. Buhler supposes *Aya* to be the short form of *Arya* (See Epigraphia Indica, II, pp. 396, 398.)

† Gadman, and Farra or Hvarena

century A. D., the two kingdoms were untied under the sway of the Pahlava Gondopharnes or Gadmanhvarena." (Rapson's Anc. India, pp. 144-5, 184.)

The coins of Gondophares and his successors are found in Seistan, Kandhâr and Sindh and in the South Panjâb. Those of Gondophares are found also at Kabul. He was thus the ruler of Seistan, Kandhâr and Sindh. This is confirmed by the fact, that Gondophares is almost certainly the same as Gondoforus of the early Christian legends, who is said to have put St. Thomas to death. In the *Legenda Aurea*, Gundoforus is called king of India—a title which agrees with the recorded accounts of the scene of St. Thomas' mission in Parthia, Persia and India. But the place of his death is even more distinctly stated by Bishop Sophronius, who says "*dormivit in civitate, Calamina, quæ est Indiæ.*" An old inscription of A. D. 1070 on the door of the Basilica of St. Paul on the Ostian road, also testifies that he was put to death in India. These and other statements lead Sir A. Cunningham to show that king undoforus of the Christian legends was the ruler of Western India in the time of St. Thomas, and as king Gondophares of the coins was the ruler of the same country about the same time the two names were probably of the same person. The rule of Gondophares must have extended over the Eastern Panjâb, as his coins are found in Multân and in all the ruined mounds to the south of Lahor. Shortly after his death or in A. D. 79, one of his successors must have lost the Southern Panjâb; as the great victory of Sâlivâhana over the Sakas, at *Kahror* near Multân, can only apply to them. We may also infer, that Abdagases the nephew, and Sasan* the relative of Gondophares must have reigned in the Panjâb, as their coins are found there only; and that for a similar reason, Orthagnes, another relative must have reigned in Kandhar, Seistan and Sindh. The coins of Arsakes and Sanabares precede those of Gondophares; but the coins of Pakores and of at least two other princes, the successors of Orthagnes, show that this dynasty must have ruled down to about 100 A. D. (Cunningham's Archæological Reports II, pp. 59-61).

* A coin of king Sasan was found in No. 15 mound at Manikyâla (Arch. Reports. II, p. 167).

Kushan Coins Proving Zoroastrian Influence.

Now we shall note some numismatic facts which show what influence Iran exercised over the religion of the Kushan tribe in the early centuries after Christ. About 126 B.C., the little kingdom of Bactria came to an untimely end through the invasions of the Yu-chi * and other cognate Turanian tribes, who swept through Central Asia, and subsequently conquered Kabul, and occupied the country as far as the Indus. Kanishka, † a great king of their race came to the throne in 120 A.D. He was a great conqueror and his empire extended from Kabul and Yarkand as far as Agra and Gujarat. He was a Buddhist. He held the great council of the Northern Buddhists; and emissaries were sent to introduce Buddhism in the neighbouring kingdoms. Now the empire of Kanishka merits special mention on account of its peculiar religious attitude, which may be gathered from the coins. As already stated, Kanishka had embraced Buddhism, and many of his coins bear the image and name of Buddha. Iranian divinities, how-

* That is Tartar.

† The dates of his successors are.— Huviska 150 A.D., Vâsudeva 180 A. D. (V. Smiths' Catalogue of Coins, p. 64).

Dr. Buhler gives Samvat 39 to 48 and 80 to 98 to Huvishka and Vâsudeva respectively (Epigraphia Indica, I, p. 373). According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Kanishka ruled from A.D. 78 to 100, Huvishka from A.D. 100 to 123, and Vasudeva from A.D. 123 to 150 (?) (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I, pp. 22, 37).

ever, predominate on the coins of Kanishka and his successor Huvishka —such as, Miiro' *(Meher*, sun), Mâo *(Mâh*, moon), Athsho *(Âtash*, fire), Oado *(Vât*, wind), Shaoreoro *(Sheherevar)*, Orthagno *(Verethraghna)*, Kharro *(Farna, hvarena*=majesty of kingship), Nana *(Anahita)* &c.

Here then we have a perfect example of syncretism. Buddhism and Zoroastrianism have been wedded in the state religion, and in characteristic Indian fashion are on the best of terms with one another. (Encycl. Br., Ed XI, Vol. 21, p. 116).

Stein observes, that the eloquent and most authentic evidence of the Turushka coinage furnishes a safe starting point for all future inquiries into that fascinating epoch of the history of the Aryan nations, which witnessed the interchange of Buddhist and Magian influences between India and Iran*.

In this connection the following remarks are quite appropriate:— "The newer Buddhism of Kanishka's day, designated as the Mahâyâna or "great vehicle," was largely of foreign origin, and developed as the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellinic elements."

The name of *Huvishka* † the successor of Kanishka, is the Iranian word *Huvaksha*; however, the legend on his coins (महाराजा देवपुत्र हुविष्क) shows, that he was not a *pukka* Zoroastrian; no orthodox Zoroastrian would connect his name with *Deva*. He resembled Kanishka in an eclectic taste for a strange medley of Greek, Indian and Persian deities. The types on his coins include Herakles, Sarapis, Shiva, Skanda with his son Vishâkha, Pharro and the Fire-god; but the figure and name of Buddha are wanting.

*Stein's Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins, p. 12.

† We also come across the form Huksha (see Epigraphia Indica, II, pp. 197-198 & 206.)

Huvishka was succeeded by *Vasudeva*. * His coins present the royal figure clad in the garb of Persia, and manifestly imitated from the effigy of Sapoor I. (238 to 269 A. D.) (V. Smith's Hist. of India, p. 233, 239). From the fact, that the Kushân dynasty in Northern India, and the Andhra in the Deccan disappear almost at the moment, when the Ashkhânian dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian, it is conjectured that the three events were connected in some way, (possibly by a predatory invasion by the Iranians) which explains the renewed Persian influence.

Sassanian Persians Connected With India.

(1) The Sassanian dynasty was on terms of close friendship with the rulers of Western India and became the leading traders in the eastern seas. In proof of this we notice Beheram Ghor's visit (A. D. 436) to the king of Kanauj (A. D. 423-438,† probably to ask for help in his struggle with the White Huns, his marriage with an Indian princess, his founding of the dynasty of the Gardhabin kings, and the introduction of Indian music and literature into Persia. It was under the Sassanians, that the Persians brought chess and the Arabian Nights from India (Bom. Gaz., Vol. XIII, pp. 248, 419; Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 147-155).

The Hindu princess with whom Beheramghor married was Sapinuda

* From the pure Hindu name of Vasudeva Cunningham says that it might be supposed that he was a Hindu; but as the coins give him the tribal name of *Kûsano*,...he must have been an Indo-Scythian. Cunningham thinks, that the descendants of the Indo-Scythians gradually became Indianized, and that they must be sought for amongst some of the inferior tribes in the North-West, such as the Gats and Gujars (J.R.A.S. New Series, Vol 5, p. 195). He draws attention to the evidence of the early adoption of Hindu names by the Indo-Scythians (Ach. Reports, III-41, 42. V-140).

† osmas Indikopleustas (A. D. 545) found the Persians among the chief traders in the Indian Ocean. (Yule's Cathay I, 177-179).

according to the Shahname. Firdusi says that when Beheramghor carried away Sapinuda and came to the sea, he saw a group of Iranian traders, about whom the poet says :—

" Ke bâzârgânâne Irân budand,
Ba âbo ba khushki delirân budand."

"Because they were Iranian traders; they were bold in travelling by land and sea." * (Kutâr's Shahname, Vol. VIII, p. 139).

This shows that the Iranian traders went to India both by land and sea.

In his paper on Parsis and Early Islam Mr. G. K. Nariman quotes Tabari to show that Shapur II built cities not only in Sagistan, but actually in Sindh. Again king Piroz founded two cities in India proper—called Ram Piroz and Roshen Piroz. (The Praja Mitra and Parsi, 28th February 1918)

(2) Both Naushirvân the Just (A.D. 531-579) and his grandson Parviz (A. D. 590-628) were united by treaties and by the interchange of rich presents with the rulers of Southern India and Sindh.

About 565 A. D. the dominions of the White Huns, namely Kashmir, Gandhâra and Peshâvar passed into the hands of the Persians; but their grasp soon relaxed. On the authority of Tabari it is stated, that king Khusru II of Persia received an embassy from king Pulikessin II in about 625 A. D., and a return embassy was sent from Persia, which was received with due honour at the Indian court. A large fresco painting in cave No. 1 of Ajantâ (near Aurangabad), although mutilated, is easily recognised as a vivid representation of the ceremonial, attending the presentation of their credentials by the Persian envoys. The picture also shows, that the Ajantâ school of pictorial art was derived from Persia* (V. Smith's Early Hist. of India, p. 325).

Regarding the above Dr. Fleet says :—

Mr. Fergusson has shown that there is an Arabic chronicle, which records the fact that in the 36th year of the reign of Khosru II, of Persia, presents and letters were interchanged between him and Pulikesi II. (610-634 A. D.) In the same paper Mr. Fergusson has drawn attention to a painting in one of the Ajantâ caves, which depicts the presentation of a letter from a Persian king to an Indian king who is supposed to be Pulikesi II. (J. R. A. S., XI, p. 155. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 25).

According to Mr. G. K. Nariman :—"We read of a king, whose real name must be Shri Harsha of Sindh, in whose time a Persian army pushed into Sindh. The king fell in the battle, but the Persians contented themselves with devastating a portion of the country and returned, the throne of Sindh being once more occupied by the son of the slain ruler. He was himself overthrown in 641, which leads us to conclude that the occupation of the Persians took place in the reign of Khosru Parwez...Coins discovered in North-West India with Indian and Pahlavi legends prove that this territory belonged to the king or kings of Persia at a certain period. The most important of the coins...bears the legend of 'Khosru Shahanshah.' On the obverse are the impressions of the sun god of Multan and the year corresponding to the Christian date 627 on the reverse." (The Praja Mitra and Parsi, 28th February 1918).

* Wilford says, " Hindus to this day (1809) show the place where he (Behrâmgour or Gadhâ-rupa) lived about one day's march to the north of Broach, with the ruins of his palace" (Asiatic Researches, IX, p. 151).

* The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol I², p. 248) says :—

Naoshirvan's embassy to Pulikesi II the ruler of Bâdâmi in the Southern Maratha Country, is believed to be the subject of one of the Ajanta cave paintings and another of the pictures is supposed to be copied from a portrait of Parvez and the beautiful Shirin (Masudi's Prairies d'Or II, 201).

(3) Dr. Bhau Daji opines that it was Burzuchumihr, the minister of Naushirvân, who despatched the physician Barzuya to India for obtaining a copy of the *Panchatantra*, or original of the *Hitopadesha*, which he got translated into Pahlavi. He also introduced the game of chess from the same source.

Dr. Daji surmises that the name *Barzuyā* is in all likelihood the same as *Vararuchi*.* He says :— Whether this Vararuchi is the same as one of the "nine gems"† at the court of Vikramâditya, we have no means of ascertaining ; but when we consider, that he was able to translate the *Panchtantra* rapidly into Pahlavi, and that he was acquainted with medical and other writings of the Hindus, which at that time were chiefly in the Prakrit language, we are led to believe, that the later Vararuchi of Harsha-Vikramâditya's court was this Barzuya. We write this with the knowledge that the *Kalila va Dimna*, the Arabic translation of the Pahlavi version, informs us, that the *Panchtantra* was obtained at Patliputra, and that it takes no notice of Ujjayini." (B. B. R. A. S. VI, p. 226.).

(4) According to one account, early in the 7th century, a large body of Persians landed in Western India, and from one of their leaders whom Wilford believed to have been a son of Khosru Parviz, the family of Udepur is to have sprung. (For authorities see Bom Gaz. XIII, p. 248).

(4a) General Cunningham has noted that the influence of the Sassanians was most strongly felt in Sindh and Western Rajputana, where India and Persia came into direct contact; but in North-Western India and the Punjab, it was disseminated by the White Huns and the Little Yuchi, who successively held the Kabal valley. The former were certainly fire-worshippers, and the latter were apparently Brahmanists, but both had adopted the style of the Sassanian coinage, and as the date of the Sassanian influence is well known, it is a convenient and well-marked distinction to call it the *Indo-Sassanian* period This period, Cunningham extends down to A. D. 700, shortly after which the direct Persian influence was brought to a close in Western India by the Mohammedan conquest of Sindh and Multân in A. D. 711. (See Cunningham's Archæological Reports, III, p. 5).

(4b) The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer notices the traditional connection between Valabhi and the Râ-nâs of Mewâd with the Sassanian kings of Persia (AD. 250-650). In support of the tradition, Abul Fazal (A. D. 1590) says that the Rânâs of Mewâd consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Naushirwân (A. D. 531-579), and Tod quotes fuller details from the Persian history of Maaser-al-Umra. No evidence seems to support a direct connection with Naushirwân. At the same time marriage between the Valabhi chief and Mâhâ Bânu the fugitive daughter of Yazdgard the last Sassanian (A. D. 651) is not impossible. And the remaining suggestion that the link between Naushirwân's son Naushizâd, who fled from his father in A. D. 570 receives support in the statement of Procopius, that Nanshizâd found shelter at Belapatan in Khuzistân, perhaps Belapatan in Gurjaristân. As these suggestions are unsupported by direct evidence, it seems best to look for the source of the legend in the fire symbols in use on Kathiawad and Mewâd coins. These symbols betray from about the sixth century a more direct Sassanian

* The full name is "Barzuchihar" ; *z* would be prononced as *h* ; thus we would have "Barhuchihar." Dropping both the aspirates *h* the word would be 'Baruchira', which by transposition of the last *r* would form 'Bar'rucri" or "Vara'ruchi." Thus Dr. Daji's surmise seems to be correct.

† In the Jyotirvidabharana Kavya Chapter XXII § 10 it is stated :—

"Dhanwantari, Kshapanaka, Amarsinha, Shanku, Vitalabhatta, Ghatakharapara, Kalidâs, the renowned Varâha Mihira and Vararuchi, are the nine gems of Vikrama."

influence. (Bom. Gaz., I, Pt. I, p. 102).

(5) *Drammas*,* which are still found in the Konkan, are believed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji to be the coins of a corrupt Sassanian type, which are better known as *Gadhiâ-paisâ* or ass-money. The *Pâruttha Drammas* mentioned on a stone, which records the grant of land in Uran by the Silâhâra king Someswar in 1249 A D. seem to be Parthian Drammas or Dirhems. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 13, pp 427-428). (J. R A. S., XII, pp. 325, 328).

(6) In his paper on the Ancient Dynasties of Kathiawar and Guzerat Mr. Justice Newton remarks :— "We find little in the Greek or native histories to assist us in determining whether the impulse, which resulted in the establishment of the Shâh empire, emanated from the Bactrian or the Parthian division of the kingdom of Alexander. The Bactrian King Demetrius, who must have reigned about B. C. 190, is stated by Strabo to have made conquests in India, but we have no evidence that he reached Guzerat and Kathiawar That Menander, in about 130 B. C. ruled in the North-West of India seems certain. Mr. Princep has remarked, that the execution of the Shâh coins leads us rather to look to those of the Parthians as the originals from which they were derived, and this connection, though not certain, may incline us to view Parthia rather than Bactria as the monarchy, from which in some way the Shâh empire took its rise.† We certainly have evidence of a connection between Persia and Western India at a later period, in the fact that a subsequent deteriorated issue from some mint in Guzerat, now known as "Gadhiâ Paisâ*" has plainly been imitated from the coins of the Sassanides.....That the Parthians had power, shortly before the accession of the Shâhs, to extend their territory in the direction of Guzerat is evident, since for the century before, and during the century following, they were the formidable antagonists of Rome. In this state of things, too, we have perhaps an explanation of the rise of a new dynasty, and of its being left free to pursue a career of conquest eastward and southward, as described in the Shâh inscription at Girnâr. The Indo-Scythians had probably rendered Bactria unable to interfere, and the Parthians had sufficient occupation in their conquests with Scythia and the Romans."

Further up the learned Judge says :— "The downfall of the Valabhi empire was attributed by Colonel

* The Drammas are mentioned in the Harsha Stone Inscription dated Samvat 1030 see Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 125, 180).

† About A. D. 30 or 40.

* James Princep in his Essays on Indian Antiquities Vol I p. 335 says :—"The popular name of these rude (silver and copper) coins is in Guzarat *Gadhia kâ paisâ*=ass-money or rather the money of Gadhia, a name of Vikramâditya. This king was × × a powerful king of the Western provinces, his capital being Cambat or Cam'ay: and it is certain that the princes of these parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period." Further up Princep says :—"Scholars have discovered on the coins the profile of a face after the Persian model on one side and the Sassanian fire altar on the other. If this is admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurâshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yazdgird the son of Beherâmgor. This is supported by the testimony of the Agni Purâna, that Vikrama the son of Gadhâ-rupa (=Beheramgor according to Wilford) ascended the throne of Mâlavâ (Ujjain) in A. D. 441." (Ibid, pp. 341-342).

According to Pandit Bhagwanlal the name of the coin is from the Sanskrit गर्धभीय, meaning, of the Gardhabhi dynasty, (B.B.R. A. S. XII-329). Wilford thinks that Gardhabhi is a name to a family of Sassanian kings subsequent to the period of Vaharâm Gor' Consequently the date of the beginning of this currency would be subsequent to A.D. 420, when the king flourished" (Asiatic Researches IX, p. 149).

Tod* to an army of Parthians and Scythians, but Mr. Elphinstone has suggested, that the invaders may have been Sassanians, probably under Naushirvân; and in this event, we have doubtless an explanation of the occurrence of the *Gadhia* coins already referred to. Barbarized as these are, the attempt to delineate the bust and fire altar of the Sassanides is evident; and it is certain, therefore, either that the Sassanian monarchy obtained a footing at Guzerat, or as is more probable, that an off-shoot of the dynasty succeeded in establishing an empire there × × × × × ×

If the number of the debased Gadhias, which from time to time come to light, may be looked on as indicative of rule extending over a century or two, our researches hitherto will bring us down to the commencement or end of the seventh century of our era, and close with a race of Sassanian origin reigning in Kutch, Kathiawar and Guzerat." (B.B.R.A.S. Journal, VII, pp. 30-36).†

Indo-Sassanian coins are found in Mâlwâ and Gujarât....The earliest coins are of large size and their imitation of the Sassanian money is direct and obvious. But the latter coins depart more and more from the original, so that it is not easy at first sight to trace their descent.....Mr. Codrington, Secretary of Bombay Asiatic Society, selected a series of coins to show the gradual change of the Persian head on the obverse and the fire-altar on the reverse of the Sassanian coins into the oblong button and the series of dots and lines found on the Gadhia coins. (Cunningham's Archæological Reports, XI, p. 176, Bombay B. Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, XII, 325).*

Cunningham came across 13 fire altar Indo-Sassanian coins at Nâgri (about 11 miles north of Chitor) and to them he assigns as the date, the 7th century to the commencement of the 8th century A. D. (Arch. Reports, VI, 200, 201).

(7) Cunningham notices a Pahlava prince of Kathiawar in 720 A. D. He says :—"About A.D. 720 Krishna, the Pahlava prince of the peninsula (of Gujârat), built the fort of *Elâpur*, the beauty of which, according to the inscription, astonished the immortals. In it he established an image of Siva adorned with the crescent. Following this clue I incline to identify Elâpur with the famous city of *Somnâth* which as the capital of the peninsula, was usually called Pattan Somnâth. According to Postans the old city of Pattan is built upon a projection of the main land, forming the Southern point of the small port and bay of *Verâval*. This name I take to be the same as *Elâpur* or *Elâwar*, which by a transposition † which is very common in India, would become *Erâwal*" (Ancient Geography of India, p. 319.)‡

As regards the word *Pahlava*, Prof. Weber considered that, it "became early foreign to the Persians, learned reminiscences excepted; in the Pahlavi texts themselves, for instance, it does not occur. The period

* Tod (Râjasthana I, pp. 83, 217, 218) says : The invaders were Scythic, probably Parthians from Minagara and that the fall of Valabhi took place in A. D. 524. So Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Ind.* II, p. 70, and Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ* I, p. 21. But we now know that the Valabhi dynasty lasted for 200 years after this. (See also Dr. Burgess' *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, VI p. 3).

† This information given by Justice Newton is very interesting but unfortunately it is vague. There are also chronological difficulties, which Dr. Burgess had tried to explain away. (Bom. Gaz. VIII p. 274; also I pt. I p. 94 note.).

*In B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XII-325, 326, Pandit Bhagwanlal says that "twenty Gadhia coins were so arranged by Mr. Codrington in a plate as to give the gradual transition from the Persian face and fire-altar seen in the former (Sassanian coins) into the oblong button dots and lines on the latter (Gadhia coins) and which showed pretty plainly that the so called Gadhias are a debased imitation of the coins of the Sassanian kings of the 6th and the 7th century A.D."

†Cf Narsingh=Ran-si ; Ranod—Narod.

‡ See also Bom. Gaz. XIII, p. 414.

when it passed over to the Indians, therefore, would have to be fixed for about the second * to the fourth century A. D ; and we should have to understand by it, not directly the Persians, who are called Pârasikas rather, but specially the Arsacidan Parthians." (Hist. of Indian Literature, p. 187, note 201 *a*).

The king Krishna referred to above could not be a *puccâ* Zoroastrian. His Hiudu name and the fact that he had established an image of Siva show that he observed a mixed religion. Cunningham has not quoted his authority.

(8) In the Saddar † Nasr or the prose Saddar (ch. X-7) we read :— "When similarly some one in Kashmir or Iranvej or Kandez or the enclosure formed by Jam performs a good work, and we are not able to perform it with *hamâ-zor*, then they and we who wear the sacred thread-girdle on the waist, are naturally connected and equally meritorious, one with the other." We notice here that about the time the Saddar was composed, there was a colony of Parsis in Kashmir ; for, it is suggested that the Kusti is a token, which unites Zoroastrians of distant lands. Now the date of the Saddar is uncertain but we find in the introduction to the Saddar-i-Bahar-i-Tavil or the long-metre Saddar (A. D. 1605) that the prose Sadar was composed by three Dasturs named Vardust, Medyomâh, and Syâvaksha *at the time of the Arab conquest*. (S B. E Vol XXIV, p. 269, introd p. 37 ; also B. N. Dhabhar's Saddar Nasr, introd. p.p. 7-8)

Note:—According to Reinaud under the Arsacidae or Parthian dynasty, the Persians took a great part in oriental navigation. There was a considerable Indian trade up the Persian Gulf and by land to Palmyra ;* and it seems to have been under the Parthian influence, that the Persians overcame their horror of the sea, and rose to be the greatest sea-traders of the east. The trade connection between the Thana coast and the Parthian rulers in the Persian Gulf has a special interest at this period, as in the latter part of the 1st century after Christ, the Andhras were driven from Konkan and north Deccan by foreigners apparently from Northern India, who founded the Indo-Parthian dynasty.

Religion of Persians of India.

Now let us say a few words about the religion of the Farsi residents of India of olden times. We have seen, that the religion of Kanishka and his successors was a syncretistic religion, it was not *orthodox* Zoroastrianism.

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer remarks, that the history of the Parsis, who for a time lost most of their peculiarities, shows how easily a settlement of Persians may embrace Hinduism. Wilford believes, that there is a strong Persian element in the Konkanastha Brahmans and the Marathas. He remarks that there is nothing in the tenets or practice of Hinduism to prevent foreigners, who are willing to conform to the Hindu religion and its usages, being admitted to be Hindus.†

Pahlavas Abandon Religion.

About 150 A. D. the Pahlava chief Sivaskanda of Kanchipur (= Conjiveram), 46 miles south-west of Madras, was admitted as a member of the sacred clan of the ancient Rishi Bharadwâja.....Under him as their leader, a large body of Pahlavas or Parthians continued to form a separate

* Second century B. C. would be more accurate.

† Saddar Nazm or Metrical Sadder was written in 1495 A. D.

* Reinaud's Abul-fida, Chap. 77.

†Heliodorus a Greek ambassador from the Greek King Antialcidas adopted the Hindu faith and became a worshipper of Vishnu, as is seen from the inscription of the Besnagar column in Gwalior (Rapson's Anc. India, pp. 134, 156-7).

class of Hindus (Bom. Gaz. XIII, Pt. II, pp. 442,445).

An important story of the king Sagara, related in the Vishnu Purâna (Bk. IV, Sec. 3), and also in the Harivamsa(§773), shows that the Pahlavas were compelled to abandon their religion. The story runs as under :—

Bâhu, the seventh king from Harishchandra was overcome by the Haihayas and Tâlajanghas and compelled to fly with his queens to the forests, where he died. After his death, one of his wives gave birth to a son named Sagara. When he grew up, he* became vexed at the loss of his paternal kingdom and he vowed to exterminate the Haihayas, Tâlajanghas and others. Accordingly he destroyed nearly all the Haihayas. As the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pâradas and Pahlavas were about to be destroyed, they went to Vasistha the family-priest, for surrender. He representing them as virtually dead, though living, spoke to Sagara thus:— "You have done enough, my son, by pursuing these men, who though alive are as good as dead. In order that your vow might be fulfilled, I have compelled them to *abandon their own religion* and association with the twice-born" (एते च मया एव त्वत्प्रतिज्ञापरिपालनाय निजधर्म द्विजसंगपरित्यागं कारिता). Agreeing to his *guru's* proposal, Sagar compelled these tribes to alter their costume (वेशान्यत्वमकारयत)†

He then ordered अर्द्धम् शकानां शिरसो मुंडयित्वा व्यसर्जयेत । यवानां शिर : सर्वम् कांबोजानां तथैव च । पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पह्लवा : श्मश्रुधारिण : ॥ ‡

"The Sakas should have half their head shorn, the Yavanas and Kambojas the whole, the Pâradas should wear their hair free and the Pahlavas should wear beards." *

In consequence of the abandonment of their religion and of their devotion by the Brahmans, they became Mlecchas (तेच निजधर्मपरित्यागात् ब्राह्मणैः परित्यक्ताः म्लेच्छत्वं ययुः) †

It is clear from the above story, that the Pahlavas had abandoned their religion. It is supposed, that this story has probably a reference to the victories of the great Samudragupta‡ (A. D. 370-395,) (See Bom. Gaz. XIII, pp. 448-9.)

Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji notices the *Pârajas* a class of Kathiawar craftsmen, whose name, appearance and peculiarities of custom and dress seem to point to a Parsi or Parthian origin. (Wilford's As. Res. X-90-91, IX, 156, 233. Bom. Gaz. XIII, pp. 410-14).

The Pallavas, who began to rule in the Deccan § in the 2nd century after Christ, were identical with the Pahlavas, who fought their way across India. They were known as living near the Hindu Kush in very early times. Like many other foreigners, the Pallavas became Hindus and are lost in the great mixture of tribes, which the name Maratha covers. $ In religion the Pallavas were orthodox Hindus. Several of their princes and râjâs were devoted to the worship of Vishnu and inclined to the cult of Siva. (V. Smiths' Early Hist. of India, pp. 348-350. Bom. Gaz. XIII, pp. 413-414).

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* The original Sk. passages in the Vishnu Puran and Harivamsa have bean quoted in Dr. Muir's Sk. Texts Vol I, pp. 486-7.

† So far we have given a literal translation from the Vishnu Purâna.

‡ This is quoted from Harivamsa.

* Dr. R. Caldwell thinks that what Sagara is represented as commanding the different races to do is merely what they had been already in the habit of doing. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV., p. 167).

† Quoted from Vishnu Purâna.

‡ The King Sagara is referred to in the Pali (village in Allahabad) Copper-plate-Grant of Maharaja Lakshmana dated 158 of the Gupta Samvat (Epigraphia Indica II, p. 365)

§ Their capital was Kânchi (=Conjeevaram). Rapson's Anc. India, p. 167.

$ Fleets' Kanarese dynasties, 14-15.

CHAPTER NO. 5.

Bhavishya Purana about Magas.

The Bhavishya Purâna deals with the religion, customs and practices of a tribe, known as the Magas or the so-called Magian priests of India. It is argued that as these Magas ate in silence, worshipped the sun at the three Sundhyas, allowed their beards to grow, and were prohibited from touching the dead, they were the Zoroastrian Magi.

It is not difficult to show, that all these customs were enjoined by the Hindu religion also. The Hindus were commanded to eat in silence as we see in the Vishnu Dharma Sutra (XII-19; S.B.E. XIV. p. 61). They had to worship the sun three times—in the morning, evening and day-time, as we read in Baudhyâyana Dharma Sutra (II-4-7) and Kaushitaki Upanishada.* (S.B.E.I., p. 285; see also Bhavi. Pur., Brahma Purva 165-§3). Among them also the dead body was not to be touched. For example, in Garuda Purâna Sârodhâra (IX-40) we read :—

निर्विचेष्टं शरीरंतु प्राणैर्मुक्तं जुगुप्सितं ।
अस्पृश्यं जायते सद्यो दुर्गंधं सर्व निंदितम् ॥

"The motionless, dead body, left by the vital breath, becomes detestable and *unfit to touch*, it soon becomes foul smelled and disliked by all." Moreover, those, who came into contact with the dead body, had to observe certain rules. (Vishnu Smriti XXII-63, 64, Gautama XIV &c.)

Dr. Wilson has noted several peculiarities in the customs of the Magas—namely that they wore *aviing* or thread girdle, used *Varma* (that is Barsam), † and while worshipping held *Poornaka* ‡ in one hand and *Sinkha* in another.

We shall discuss hereafter in another place the customs and practices of the Magas, from which we shall be able to arrive at a definite conclusion. We shall see from a literal translation of several chapters of the Bhavishya Purâna, that the Magas observed a religion, which was a mixture of Hinduism and Zoroastrianism.

Magas and Worship of Magha.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1890 (p. 431), Mr. Hewitt observes:—"It is in the country of Magadha and throughout Eastern India, that the worship of the Great Mother, the Mother Earth, is most prevalent at the present day, that it was in the Kalinga country that the custom of human sacrifice called the Meriah, lasted longest, and that it was these sacrifices, which were originally offered by the *Magas* to their mother goddess Maghâ." * (Bom. Gaz. Vol XIII, pp. 413-414.)

Thus the Magas seem to be the worshippers of the Hindu goddess Maghâ.

Magas admitted in Brahmanism.

The writer of the Bombay [illegible] teer thinks, that the Magas foreigners, who were admitte Brahmanism. Two establish tances of outsiders being admi be Brahmans are the priests Bahikas, (apparently the Sakas second and first century Christ). and the priests of Mihiras in the fifth and sixth tury after Christ. The priests Mihiras were, according to the tarangini, under the special favour of the White Huna conqueror Mihirakula (A.D. 480-530. Troyor's Tr. I-307-309). They obtained recognition as Brahmans, and still under the name Magha Brahmans form one of the leading priest-

* Also Kaushitaki-Brahmana-Upanishda II-7 quoted in Bhandarkar's Vaishnavism &c. p. 151.

† Barsum was held in the hand by the Magi, when saying prayers Cf. Bulsara's Nirangistan, p. 351 and Strabo

‡ A kind of tree

* Probably Kâli

ly classes of South Marwar. Many of these Magas* are Shevaks or family priests to Oswâl and other Mârwar Shrâvaks. They are acquainted with the story of their origin in the Bhavishya Purâna. Marriage with local women has blotted out the special characteristics of most..... In India the Maghas started either the worship of a combination of the Sun and of Siva under the name Mihireshwar, or a simpler sun worship, as at Multân, Dwârka and Somanâtha (Bom. Gaz. IX, 439-440).

Weber's Opinion about Magas.

Prof. Weber's opinion about the Magas is as under :—

"The period during which the Grecian successors of Alexander and after them the Indo-Scythians reigned in North-Western India had not only procured admission for Hellinic and in later times for Christian conceptions, but had also directed towards India the followers of the Iranian cult of Mithra, and curiously enough had there introduced their sun worship in connection with the worship of Krishna. The name of these priests, Maga, was transferred in later times also to the adherents of the teaching of Zarathushtra, when in order to escape Islamic persecution, they similarly settled in Western-India. These latter coming in great numbers, founded independent communities and colonies, and still flourish vigorously under the name of *Parsees*. While on the other hand the Magas seem to have visited the country as missionaries only, and were partly adopted, probably together with some members of the other stratum of the Iranian immigrants, into the ranks of the Brahmans themselves under the name of Sâkadvipiya Brahmans." (Weber's History of Religion in India translated by G. A. G.; Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 281).

In another place the same scholar says :—"The Magas go back to an old mission of the Mithra cult, the members of which, after their arrival in India, (about the first two centuries A. D.) were incorporated into the Brahman caste." (see Weber's paper on the Mugavyakti in the Monatsberichte 1879 pp. 458, 466, also paper on the Magas or Sâkadvipuja Brahmans in the Monatsberichte 1880. Indian Antiquary XII., p. 162).

We think, that when Prof. Weber identifies the Magas with the ancestors of the Parsis, he probably follows the opinion of Dr. Wilson. The Magas appear to be the members of the Mithra cult, who observed a religion which was partly Zoroastrian and partly Hindu, and who were subsequently merged into the Brahman caste.

Sir Râmkrishna Bhandârkar says:—"The Magas...were gradually thoroughly Hiduised, until they became undistinguishable from the other Hindus." (Vaishnavism, Shaivism &c. p. 155). If so, they could hardly have been our ancestors, who landed at Sanjan.

Sakas Merged Into Hinduism.

Having seen the religious condition of the Pahlavas and the Magas, let us say a word about that of the Sakas, whom Dr. Spooner identifies with the Iranians. They also merged into the lowest dregs of Hindu society. This is proved by the story of Sagara already referred to above. That a large number of the defeated Sakas became Chândâls is proved by the

* The Gehlots and other Rajputs who trace their origin to the Bâlas or Vâlas of Valabhi are Mihiras and therefore Gurjjaras, since Mihira is a respectful name for Gurjjara. In the Punjab the Gurjjar title of honour is Mihir or Mahar (Bombay. Gaz. XIII. p. 479). The Maghas or Mihiras occur in Multan, Dwarka, Marwar and Kashmir. To explain the admission of these strangers, tales were invented. According to Bhavishya Puraua. Gauramukha advised that Maghas should be brought from Sâkadwipa as priests. According to the Multan legend, they were brought by the eagle Garuda (Bom. Gaz. IX, 430-440.)

fact, that one of the low dialects or *vibhâshâs* is called either *Sâkâri* or *Chândâlikâ*. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. XIII, p. 454.)

The list of the tribes of the degraded Kshatriyas mentioned in Manu Smriti (X, 43, 44) includes Pahlavas, Sakás and Yavanas.* Some Purânic lists also include the Sakas and Yavanas. (Idem p. 447).

The fact that these tribes were regarded as *degraded*, shows that they were foreign tribes who had embraced Hinduism.

It is fully established, that the Khatris of Sindh and Multan are strangers, either of Saka or of Hunâ origin. (Idem, p. 453). "In the Dakhan, Gautamiputra about A.D. 150, in Mâlwa Sâgara about A.D. 400, in the North-West Provinces Chandragupta in. A.D. 396-415, in the South Panjab Yasodharman about A.D. 530, and Sri Harsha in Central India and the North-West Provinces between A.D. 607 and 617, all gained credit from overthrowing, either invading or settled northerners—such as Pahlavas, Sakas, Yavanas, White Hunas, and Turks—and preventing or putting a stop to the confusion of caste." (Idem, pp. 453, 454, 458).

From all the proofs given above, we see that the Pahlvas, Sakas, and Magas were incorporated into the Hindu society long before the Arab conquest of Iran.

* शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादू इमा क्षत्रिजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गताः लोकं ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेणच ॥

"These Kshatriya tribes gradually became corrupt (or degraded), because they omitted sacrifices and opposed the (sayings of) Brahmans." Then the writer mentions the tribes in the next verse.

CHAPTER No. 6.

Kisseh-i-Sanjan and King Jadi Rana.

From some traditional accounts and a few reliable notices it appears that after the downfall of the Sassanian Monarchy several bands of Parsis, who were greatly oppressed by the Arab conquerors,* left their mother-country and came to India. The date when they first landed and the place where they first put up are controversial matters.

*In his Paper on "Parsis and Early Islam," Mr. G. K. Nariman shows from Arabic books, specially Bilazori (pp. 64-65, 71, 78, 80, 200,) that "the Parsis are in India not because their ancestors fled from savage Arabs for the sake of their religion dearer than life," but because they were pursued with cruel bigotry.....on the part of those Zoroastrians, who were constantly growing into a large majority and who had more or less voluntarily renounced the faith of their fathers to embrace Islam." Mr. Nariman quotes Paul Horn as under :—' With force at first the Zoroastrians were not proselytised. Rather were they accounted on a level with Jews and Christians, who, as the Koran lays down, were the recipients of a scripture *(Ahl Kitab)* and therefore by the payment of a poll-tax could continue in their religion. It was only in later times that Zoroastrians were declared unbearable. Finally under the intolerable oppression of their own people, who persecuted them with the real fanaticism of fresh converts, they emigrated to India." See *Praja Mitra & Parsi* dated 27-2-1918, *also* 16-8-1919). For references to Arab and other writings, see Mr. Nariman's article on "Parsi Immigration" in the *Times of India*, dated 7-2-1920.

Dr. J. J. Modi does not agree with Mr. Nariman, to whom he gives his reply in the *Times of India* dated 12-2-1920. Dr. Modi quotes Pahlavi writers. He says that in one MS. of the Bundehesh, there is a clear reference to the intolerance of the Arabs. It runs thus :—"And when the sovereignty came to Yazdagard.....then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude.....The country of Iran remained with the Arabs and their own irreligious law was propagated by them; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened.....From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this has not happened ; for, through their evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits, hostile acts, bad decrees and bad religion—ruin, want and other evils have taken

According to the account of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, about 115 years after the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty, a number of Zoroastrians came to India and landed at Div off the coast of Kathiawar. Having stayed there for 16 years, they went to Sanjan. If we take the battle of Nahavend (A. D. 641) to have decided the fate of the Persian empire, it would appear that the Zoroastrians landed at Sanjan in A. D. 775. Some scholars, taking A. D. 651 (when the King Yazdagard was killed) as the starting point, arrive at the date A. D. 785. But as Sir James Campbell observes, the accepted date among the Parsis for the settlement at Sanjan is the Yazdagardi year 85, A. D. 716, given on the authority of Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji of Broâch in his book named "કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કેસર," published in 1826 (p. 149). Ervad Maneckji R. Unwalla has got a MS. about 150 years old, which gives the following note:—"સંવત ૭૭૨ વર્ષે શ્રાવણ શુદિ ૯ વાર શુક્રે રોજ ૨) માહા ૪) સને ૮૫ યજદજરદી એવે દને શ્રી ખોરાસાનથી શ્રી વેહેદીનાન શ્રી સંજાણ મધે માહારાજ્ય શ્રી જદીરાણાના વખતમાં આવ્યા."

It will be seen that the above memorandum gives a slightly different account from that of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. The date is 716 A. D., and not 775 or 785 A. D.; besides there is no reference to the landing at Div. The reason for this difference in the accounts may be, as suggested by Wilford, that the history of at least two bands of refugees has been mixed up. Such discrepancies, coupled with other circumstances, have led some scholars to challenge every detail of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. On the other hand there are scholars who would put blind faith in each and every particular given in the Kisseh. The middle course has not been adopted. The Kisseh has its value, which must not be overrated nor under-estimated.

In our opinion the Kisseh-i-Sanjan does not claim to be a historical document correct in *every* detail. It roughly lays down certain facts, which should be carefully weighed, and the crust should be separated from the kernel in the light of the few historical reminiscences, which have remained down to our own times. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that it records some genuine traditions, which we cannot disbelieve; for instance, the tradition about the king Jâdi Rânâ, and the first Parsi refugees explaining their religion and customs could hardly have been a *fabrication* of later times. Nevertheless it would be readily admitted, that accretions and additions must have grown round the original tradition in course of time.

The late Mr K. R. Kama was the first to point out that the Hindu date did not coincide with the Parsi *roj*, *mah* and year. To explain the difficulty it was suggested by Mr. Kama and subsequently by our learned friend Prof. S. H. Hodivala, that

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lodgment." Dr. Modi also quotes references from the Epistles of Manuscheher, Pahlavi Jamaspi, and Dinkard Bk. VII. Chap. 8, which contain vague references. Firdusi (A.D. 10th century) in his account of the reign of Yazdagard, speaks of the Arab rule as "hell from the midst of heaven." Yazdagard in his letter to the governor of Tus, says:—"The fires in the fire-temples have been extinguished. The religious festivals of Naoroz and Sadeh have been darkened."

We read in the French historian R. Dozy's "Spanish Islam" (tr. by Stokes, p. 18). as under:—"After the capture of Mecca, the remaining pagan tribes soon found further resistance useless, and the threat of a war of extermination induced them to embrace Islamism.....with the Koran in one hand and a sword in the other."

M. Cl. Huart in his "Histoire des Arab" says:—"They (the Khalifs) made life so troublesome, so intolerable to the non-Musulmans that they converted themselves formerly in large numbers to the new religion. There remained only few Jews, Christians and Mazdians (Zoroastrians) in the cities. The population in the country became all, and very rapidly, Musalmans, except in the mountainous cantons."

the Samvat figure 772 should be read 992. This is possible,* but what shall we say about the Yazdagardi year, which would not coincide with Samvat 992?

As is seen in the three Pahlavi inscriptions at Kanheri, it was the practice of the ancient Parsis to mention the *roz*, *mah* and the Yazdagardi year.† In the Pahlavi Texts written by Dinpanah Itarpat Dinpanah, the date is given in *roj*, *mah* and Yazdagardi year, namely 324, as is supposed by a majority of scholars.

The practice of mentioning Vikram Samvat is first traced in the Sanskrit Ashirwards; since in the oldest MS. in the library of the late Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji, the date is given as संवत्सरेषु चतुर्दशसतेषु (Samvat 1400). In the Parsi year 692 the well-known copyist Meherban Kaikhusru records roj, mah and Parsi year only in the Pahlavi colophon. The MS. contains also the Hindu date in Sanskrit, but that is clearly a later interpolation. We are therefore of opinion that originally it was usual with the Parsi writers to mention roj, mah and Yazdagardi year only.

In the early and western Chalukya periods, the Shaka era was used throughout in Western India. Dr. J. F. Fleet points out in his book "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts," ‡ that "the records that have survived of the important and powerful dynasty of the Chalukyas are carefully dated in almost every instance in the well-known Shaka era." In another place the same scholar says:— "Though the Western Chalukya kings of the main line of Bâdâmi used the Sáka era, the local era of the country extending from probably the Damangangâ on the south to the Mâhi on the north was the Kalachuri era,* which we meet with in records of the seventh and eighth centuries, not only in the Gurjara territory in the northern part of the stretch of the country, but even the Lâta province of the Chalukyas in the Southern part of it" (Bom. Gaz. I pt II, p. 295)

In numerous grants of Kathiawar and Gujarat we come across the Valabhi Samvat (which began in 319 A. D.), or the Chedi Samvat (which began in 249 A. D.) or Sàka Samwat. (See Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions collected by the Bhavnagar State, pp. 30-67, Antiquary XIII, p. 77).

Even Prof. Hodivala has seen the difficulty. He therefore says:— "It may be said, that the Shaka era was used throughout the Western Coast, and that all the Silhârâ dates are in that era. How then could the Vikram Samvat have been employed by these Parsis? The answer is easy. These Zoroastrians came to Sanjan from Div in Kathyawar, and it was there, they had become first acquainted with the Hindu system of reckoning time. It is well known to scholars that the Hindu era generally in use in *Kattyawar and Gujarat* during these centuries was the *Vikram and not the Shaka Samvat*. All the Châvdâ, Châlukya and Vâghelâ dates of Gujarat province are in the Vikram era, and the numerous inscriptions also of that period mentioned in the Kattyawar Gazetteer are almost all in the Vikram era."

Prof. Hodivala has mentioned eleven dates, which are found in different inscriptions, but all of them are later than Vikram Samvat 772. †

* There were two figures in use to denote the number nine (B. B. R. A. S. XII, 331.)

† (See Dr. E. W. West's Paper, Indian Antiquary IX, 265 ff),

‡ p. 17, 23-30.

* Same as Chedi era which begins in 249 A.D.(Bom. Gaz. I. pt. II, pp. 364, 293, 295).

† A plate of the king *Jayikadeva*, who is styled the *adhipati* of the Saurâshtra Mandal bears the date Vikram Samvat 714. But this inscription is not genuine.(Bom. Gaz. VIII, 275). Dr. Bhagvânlâl believes the plate to be a forgery of the eleventh century. He gives the Vikram Samvat 794, and nos 714 (Bom. Gaz. I., Pt. I, p. 137).

In the time of the Châvdâ kings, the earliest Vikram date, which is of any applicability, is 752, when the Châvdâ king Jayashekhara of Punchâsar was attacked by the Châlukya king. But this date is given on the authority of the author of Ratnamâlâ a poetic history (1230 A. D.), and was probably a matter of calculation. (Bom. Gaz I, Pt I, p. 150, and 149 note). It has been pointed out by Pandit N. Bhashyacharya that "no inscription before the 11th century A. D. adopted the Samvat (Vikramaditya) era." (Age of Sri Sankaracharya p. 8). Herein he follows Dr. Bhau Daji (B. B. R. A. S. VIII , p 242).

But we do not wish to press this point further. It is enough to say that there are a few historical notices, * and copper-plate inscriptions of the Châlukya king Vijayâditya which show that the Parsi refugees could not have come as late as A.D. 936.

In Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (A.D. 902-968) it is stated that some parts of Hind † and Sind belonged to the Guebres. No doubt as Elliot says, the word Guebre meant a non-Mussalman generally and a Zoroastrian specially. Therefore this proof may be regarded as doubtful. But the authority of another writer, Masudi (A.D 916) is more reliable. He noticed that in his time there were many fire-temples in Sindh and India ‡ (Misaar-bin-Mahalhil, Elliot's Hist. of India I-97. Bom. Gaz. IX pt II, 185 ff). It is clear at least from Massudi's notes that the Parsis must have been in India before A.D. 936.

* We shall see hereafter that according to the Arab traveller Missar bin Mukhâlihal there were *fire-temples* in Cheul in A. D. 950, which date is given as A. D. 942 in Bom. Gaz. I Pt I, pp. 216-217. Now if the Parsis came in A. D. 936, we could hardly expect *fire-temples* within such a brief period as 14 years.

† Gujarat (Bom. Gaz. I., pt. I., p. 511). Haukal finished his work in A.D. 976 (Idem, p. 507).

‡ Prairies d'Or IV-86. Bom. Gaz. Population p. 186.

Was Sanjan Known to Masudi or Not ?

In this connection we are obliged to notice a remark of Prof. Hodivala, in his paper on "Jâdi Râna and the Kisseh i-Sanjan" where he says:— "There is, no doubt, notwithstanding the mention of a *Sindan* by the Arab geographers of the ninth century, that the Konkan Sanjan first came into existence only in the tenth century, and that its prosperity dated from the incoming of the Parsis and other foreigners. The writer of the chapter on the Arab References in the Bombay Gazetteer History of Gujarat has seen this very clearly and pointed out, that the earlier references of Bilâduri 892 A.C., Ibn Khordâdbih 912 A.C., and Masudi 915 A.C. are all about the Kacch Sindan (Bom. Gaz I, pt I, pp. 520-1). There can be no doubt, that the Konkan Sanjan was originally a colony founded by the Zoroastrian refugees, who gave it its name after *Sanjan*, a town in the Khwâf district of Kohistan."

Now the abovesaid Bombay Gazetteer writer says on p. 514:— "Al-Masudi (A.D. 915) in speaking of the ebb and flow of the ocean mentions Kambâya. He notices that Kambâya was famous in Baghdâd, as it still is famous in Gujarat for its shoes. These shoes, he says, were made in Kambâya and the towns about it like *Sindan* * (*Sanjan in Thana* and Sufârâh (Supâra)."

If this identification is correct, it shows that Sanjân in Thâna (in the Konkan) was known to Masudi in A. D. 915 and that therefore it was colonised by the Parsis before that date.

Place Where Parsis First Landed.

Now we shall take up the question:—"What was the place where the Parsi refugees first landed" ? We saw

* Dr. J. J. Modi takes it to be the other Sanjan. (See Asiatic Papers, p. 205).

that according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan they first landed at Div. According to the Gujarati memorandum the new comers from Khorasan landed at Sanjan. There is a third account of almost the same date as when the Kisseh-i-Sanjan was written. Rev. Henry Lord, who was at Surat in 1621 A. D. * wrote a book, named "the Discovery of the Banyans and the Parsees," in which he has given an account of the exodus, as he had heard from an Andhiâru friend of his. In the introductory Chapter Lord says:—"I observed in the town of Surat, the place where I resided, another sect called the Persees.....I thought it would not be unworthy of my labour to bring to the eyes of my countrymen this (Persee) religion also, especially since I never read of any, that had fully published the same; but that it has remained obscure and hid from common knowledge. For this cause, desirous to add anything to the ingenious.....I joined myself with one of their churchmen called their *Dâro* and by the interpretation of a Persee, whose long employment in the company's service had brought him to a mediocrity in the English tongue, and whose familiarity with me, inclined him to further my inquiry." Further on in Chapter I we read: "About 996 years elapsed, one Yesdegerd was native king of Persee.....What time the Arabian captains of the sect of Mehomet made invasion into his country, about the 19th year of his reign.....he was forced to fly to *Karason*, where he died suddenly in the 20th year of his reign.....

"The Mehometans upon the death of Yesdegerd carried all in conquest before them, and subjected the natives of the country as vassals into them, and as new lords bring in new laws, they contented not themselves to bring them to their form of government in state subjection, but also in matters of religion, to live according to the Mehometan custom, contrary to the form of their own religion and worship.

"These Persees not enduring to live contrary to the prescript of their own law and less able to reject their yoke, many of them by privy escape and as close conveyance as they might of their goods and substance, determined a voyage for the Indies, purposing to prove the mildness of the Banian Rajahs; if there, though they lived in subjection for matter of Government, they might obtain liberty of conscience in course of religion.

"So repairing to Jasques, a place in the Persian gulf, they obtained a fleet of seven junks to convey them and theirs, as merchantmen bound for the shores of India, in course of trade and merchandise.

"It happened that in safety they made to the *land of St. Johns* on the shores of India, and arrived together at or near the port of Swaley,* the usual receptacle of such ships as arrive. Treaty was made by some of them with a *Rajah living at Nuncery*† (Nowsari), publishing their grievances and the cause of their coming thither, as also their suit to be admitted as sojourners with them, using their own law and religion, but yielding themselves in subjection to their government; *upon payment of homage and tribute, they were admitted to land*, the passengers contained in five of their junks.

"The other two junks remaining one of them (*sic*) put into the road of Swaley and treated with a Rajah, that then ruled at Baryaw near unto Surat, who entertained them on like conditions to the former, but the Rajâh of that place having wars with a neighbouring Rajâh, who got the conquest, the Persees that resided

* A. D. 1620 according to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer IX Pt. II, p. 191.

* Perhaps Sumali, an old sea-port in Surat (Bom. Gaz. II, p. 382).

† Sir Streynsham Master says in a letter that the town Nausarree was called Nunsaree by the English (Quoted from Dr. J. J. Modi's Asiatic Papers Part II, p 30)

with the conquered, were all put to the sword as adherents to the enemy.

"The last junk coasted along the shores, and arrived at Cambaya where they were received upon the prementioned conditions, so that however this people have been dispersed in India since their arrival, it has been from some of these places."

The above account is important in more ways than one. Although it does not give any dates, it confirms the statement of the Gujarati memorandum that the refugees first landed at Sanjan. It does not mention Div. But the very valuable information it giver is this, that some of the Parsis made a treaty with a *Rajah living at Nowsari, and upon payment of homage and tribute* the passengers were allowed to land;* for, as we shall see later on, the Parsis were "made to pay tribute" during the reign of the Châlukya king Vinayâditya when his son Vijayâditya was a Yuvarâja or prince-regent. In this account we have also an allusion to the battle of Variâv, but to our regret we find, that Lord's informant has made a sort of confusion by making its time coincide with the date of our ancestors' first arrival in India, although the said battle took place several centuries afterwards.

We have two other accounts of almost the same generation as that of the writer of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan Sir T. Herbert a well-known traveller and author who had come to India in A. D. 1626 said :—"Into India these Persees came in five junks from Jasquez, sailing to *Surat*, when after treaty with the *Rajeaes* and Bannyans they got leave to plant."

Nicolao Manucci, a Venetian traveller wrote in A. D. 1656 :—"When first the Mahomedan religion got into Persia, the king tried to force them (the Parsis) to become Mahomedans. For this reason, they sent an embassy to the *Hindu prince of Surat*, asking him to grant them permission to emigrate into that country with their families."

This last account is important, as showing that it was a Hindu *prince* who received the embassy. From the different accounts given above it will be seen that the place of the first landing is uncertain. One thing however seems almost certain, that the *first permanent colony* established by the Parsis was at Sanjan in (Konkan) as stated in the Kisseh. Sindân has been mentioned by several Arab writers but unfortunately we have no reference to it before the 9th century A. D.* Neither do we come across *Hanjamana* (or Sanjana) † in Sanskrit inscriptions of a date earlier than the 11th century A. D.

Political Condition of Western India in 7th-8th Century.

Let us now consider the political condition of the Western coast of India on or about the traditional date (A. D. 716), when the Parsis are supposed to have first arrived at Sanjan. From a number of reliable sources, C. Mabel Duff has written a book, containing events in chronological order. Some of the events of time in question are given below :—

A D. 636—Usman ibn Asi Saqafi, Governor of Bahrain and Uman under the Khalif Umar appoints his brother Hakim to Bahrain, and proceeding himself to Uman sends an expedition to pillage the coasts of India. About the same time Hakim sends a force against Bharoch and dispatches his brother Mughirah Abul-Asi to Dibal,‡ where he defeats enemy. (Bom.Gaz. I, pt. I, pp. 505-6).

A. D. 704—Jayabhata § IV, latest known Gurjara of Bharoch.

* The Kisseh-i-Sanjan states that the Dastur went to the king with a *hadiah* (present)

* See Bom. Gaz' I. pt. I, pp. 514, 5'0.

† See Indian Antiquary V-278, IX-35-44.

‡ Karachi or Thatta (Bom. Gaz. I. Pt. I, p. 508).

§ Properly Jayabhata III.

The invasion of Gujarat by the Tajikas or Arabs seems to have occurred in his reign. It is mentioned in the grant of the Gujarat Châlukya Pulikesi (A D 738), which states that Sindh, Kachh, Kathiawad and the whole of Gujarat as far as Navsâri were subdued and the Gurjara king was one of the conquerred princes. (Idem, p. 117)

A. D. 711— Hajjaj, Governor of Irâq, sends Muhammad Imâdud-Din ibn Qâsim to invade Sindh.

A. D. 712—Campaign of Muhammad Ibn Qâsim in Sindh. Fall of Dibal.

A. D. 724—Junaid ibn Abdur Rahman al Murri...sent expeditions against Bharoch, Ujain and other places. (Idem, p. 506).

A. D. 739—The Tajikas or Arabs having over-run Sindh, Kachh, Saurâshtra, Châvotaka, the Maurye and Gurjara kingdoms seem to have invaded the Navsari district and to have been defeated by Pulikesi.

A. D. 776—The Khalifah Al-Mahdi sends an army to India under Abdul ibn Shihabul-Masammai. The town of Barada is captured. A number of the troops perish through sickness, the remainder being wrecked on their return off the Persian coast.

It will be seen from the above chronicle, that there was a long interval of 68 years between the first and second Arab raids, and consequently it might be contended, with some force, that the more favourable time for the arrival of the Parsi fugitives must be before A. D. 704. Indeed that was the case, because the Parsis "were made to pay tribute" by the western Châlukya king Vinayâditya (A. D. 680—696-7) according to three Sanskrit inscriptions, which we shall examine hereafter. But the fact that times were more favourable before A. D. 704 does not preclude the possibility of some bands of refugees having come later on, after that date. Besides we must remember that the Arab raids extended as far as Nowsâri only twice, namely in A. D. 704 and 739, and in the latter year the enemies were severely beaten, as we learn from the Nowsâri grant of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya II. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 375)

History of Gujarat and Kathiawar Important to Identify Jadi Rana.

Keeping the traditional date in view, we shall have to discuss the then history of the rulers of Gujarât and Kâthiâwâr to ascertain whether there is any allusion to the Parsis in their numerous grants and to see, if we can identify the king Jâi or Jadi-Râná. We propose to give short historical notes about the following dynasties:—(1) The Western Châlukya kings, who were the supreme rulers of Southern Gujarât and Konkan and whose capital was at Vâtâpi* or Bâdâmi in the Bijapur district; (2) the Gurjara kings, who were feudatories of the Western Châlukyas and whose capital was at Broach; and (3) a minor branch of the Châlukyas, who were also feudatories of the main branch, with their capital at Nowsari. But before we proceed, let us say a word about the various attempts to identify the king Jâdi Râná.

Supposed Identification of Jai or Jadi Rana.

Dr. Wilson thought, that the name of the king was a corruption of the Hindu name Jayadeva, otherwise known as Vanrâj Châvdâ of Anhilwad Pâtan, who reigned from 745 to 806 A.D.† (B.B.R.A.S. I, p. 175; Ind. Ant. I, 214). Sir James Campbell took him to be some "Yâdava chief of South Gujarat." (Bom.

*In much later times Somesvara II. (A. D. 1068 to 1075) and his successors made Kalyâna their capital (Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese districts, p. 4, 48, 52).

†The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer gives the dates A.D. 765 to 780, (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I, pp. 152, 155).

Gaz. XIII, Pt. I, p. 249). Dr. J. J. Modi thought, that he was some local ruler of Sanjan. Prof. Hodivala, reading the Samvat date of immigration as -92(=936 A.D.) identified the king with Vajjada deva of the Shilhâra dynasty of Northern Konkan who became king in 935 A.D. (J.B.B.R.A.S XXIII, p. 358). It will be seen, that all these gentlemen have based their identifications upon their conclusions regarding the date of our ancestors' first arrival in India, and we could hardly be expected to depart from these lines. Adopting the traditional date as the basis, we have proceeded with the inquiry, and arrived at certain conclusions, which are given below.

Western Chalukyas.

We take up the history of the Western Châlukyas. Kirtivarma I, left three sons, Pulikesi II, Vishnuvardhan I, and Jayasimha II. There was a formal division of the kingdom between the two elder brothers—Pulikesi* taking the western dominions and establishing himself at Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi, and Vishnuvardhan taking the eastern dominions and establishing himself at Vengi Country between the rivers Krishnâ and Godâveri.

Pulikesi II (610 to 642 A. D.) was the most powerful and illustrious of the early kings of his dynasty. His conquests were numerous and widely spread, and included the Râshtrakutas, the Kadambas of Vanavâsi, the Gangas, the Alupas, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Lâtas, the Mâlavas, the Gurjaras, the three countries known by the name of Mahârashtra, the Kosalas, the Kalingas, the Pahlavas of Kânchi, the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pândyas.

As we have already stated Mr. Fergusson has shown that there is an Arabic Chronicle, which records the fact, that in the 33th year of the reign of Khusru II (A.D. 626) presents and letters were interchanged between him and Pulikesi II. A painting in one of the Ajanta caves depicts the presentation of a letter from the Persian king to Pulikesi (J. R. A. S. XI, p. 155). This shows that the Sassanians were on friendly terms with the Châlukyas and it is but natural that seventy years later on, when they were hard pressed by the Arabs, they should have turned their eyes to their Hindu friends.

After the death of Pulikesi II the kingdom of the Western Châlukyas appears to have been invaded by the Pallavas, who succeeded in driving them for a time on the west, back to and below the Western Ghauts and on the South to the Karnul district. In this the Pallavas appear to have been aided by a confederacy of the Chola, Pândya and Kerala kings. (Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, pp. 23–26).

After Pulikesi came his son Vikramâditya, who ruled from 655 to 680–81 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Vinayâditya, who ruled

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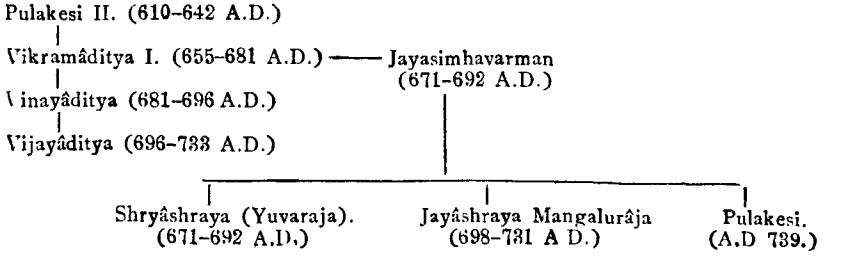
* The geneological tree of Pulakesi's family is given below :—



from 680–81 to 696 * A. D. He was also called Satyâshraya, "the asylum of truth," and *Rajashrya* "the asylum of kings." There are seven inscriptions of his time, six bearing th Sâka dates 608, 611, 613, 614, 614 and 616, and one being undated. One of his copper-plate grants is from Surat. His warlike expeditions appear from the inscriptions to have been very numerous and extensive. He is described as arresting the extremely exalted power of the three kings of Chola, Pândya and Kerala, and as reducing the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Haihayas, Vilas, Mâlavas,† Cholas, Pândyas, and other peoples to a similar state of servitude with his hereditary servants, the Alupas, Gangas and others. He levied tribute from the rulers of the Kaveras or Kameras, and the *Parasikas* and the rulers of Simhala, *i.e.* Ceylon. He acquired the *palidhvaja*-banner and other insignia of sovereignty. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 368).

Parsis Mentioned in Vijayaditya's Inscription.

Now let us consider the passage of the inscription of Vijayâditya (A.D. 696-733), the son of Vinayâditya, in which the *Pârasikas*, are mentioned. The passage which we quote below is found in three copper-plate grants edited by Dr. Fleet in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, pp. 127, 131 and 133. The first two grants are dated Saka 622 (=A.D. 700-1), Saka 627 (=A.D. 705-6), and the last is undated. The passage runs thus :—

(विक्रमादित्य) प्रियसूनोः पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखरस्य तारकारातिरिव दैत्यबलं अतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यकांचिपतिबलं अवष्टभ्य करदीकृतकमेरपारसीकसिंहलादिद्वीपाधिपस्य सकलोत्तरापथनाथमथनोपार्जितोर्जित-पालिध्वजादिसमंतपारमैश्वर्यचिन्हस्य विनयादित्यसत्याश्रय-श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य.

Dr. Fleet translates the passage thus :—

"His (Vikramâdityai's) dear son was Vinayâditya Satyâshraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one, who having at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the lord of Kânchi, whose kingdom consisted of three (*component*) dominions just as Târakârati (=Kârttikiya) (*at the command*) of (*his father*) Bâlendushekhara (=Siva) did arrest the power of the demons, caused the rulers of Kamera and Pârasika and Simhala and other islands to pay tribute; and who was possessed of the *palidhvaja* and all the other mighty insignia of supreme dominion, which he had acquired by crushing the lord of all the regions of the north." (Indian Antiquary IX, p. 129).

Interpretation of the Important Passage in the Inscription.

The expression important for our purpose is करदीकृतकमेरपारसीकसिंहलादिद्वीपाधिपस्य which is capable of at least *three* interpretations. अधिप might mean "*king*" or simply "*head*" or "*leader.*" We shall give the different senses and discuss them :—

(1) "Of him who made the kings of Kamera (island) Pârasika, (island), Simhala (island) and other islands to pay tribute."

From Kamera or Kâvera (which is the reading in another plate), the river Kâveri takes its name. Kavera is the name of a country or people (Ind. Anti. IX, p. 127 footnote). It may have been an island or a country situated between two rivers; for a *doab* is usually called an island by Sanskrit writers.

Simhala or Ceylon is certainly an island. Assuming, therefore, Kamera

* According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar he died in A.D. 697 (Bom. Gaz. I. pt. II, p 187.)

† People of Malwa or people of Malaya country in the Western Ghauts (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p.368).

or Kâvera to be an island, it would appear that *Pârasika dvipa* might be an island inhabited by the Parsis. Now as the dominion of Vinayâditya consisted of Western and Southern India, we might be led to think of the island of Div referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan as the Pârasika island. But the question is whether Div formed part of the dominions of Vinayâditya. We are therefore compelled to examine the history of Kâthiawâr and Northern Gujarât of the time. It is stated that the kings of the Valabhi dynasty were rulers of Kâthiawâr and Northern Gajarat from A. D. 507 to 766. Their first king was Bhattâraka (509 A. D.) and last Shilâditya VII (766 A. D.) (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. I, pp. 78, 93.) While referring to the Western Châlukya king Mangalesha (A. D. 597-98 to 608), Dr Fleet says :—"At that point, the progress of Mangalesha was stopped by the rulers of Valabhi, who held Kâthiâwâd and the northernmost parts of Gujarât... There was thus constituted a kingdom (namely, that of the Western Châlukyas), which embraced the whole of the Bombay Presidency, excepting Kâthiâwâd and Northern Gujarât, where the kings of Valabhi continued to reign till about A. D. 766" (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 336).

We do not know, whether it would be safe to follow Dr. Fleet's statement given above, although it is supported by Pandit Bhagvânlal* and other scholars; but it is our duty to point out certain circumstances, which appear to contradict it. It is doubted by some scholars, whether the supremacy of the Valabhi kings continued so far as A. D. 766. The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says :—" As Shilâditya VI was reigning in 447 of the Valabhi era, the sack of this capital (Valabhi) cannot have occurred before A. D. 765 and probably five to fifteen years later. This would bring the ruin of the city and the dynasty to such comparatively modern times, that it may fairly be attributed to Muhammadans from Sindh and entirely precludes the possibility of its destroyers being Sassanian kings as conjectured by Elphinstone.....If Burgess's explanation (note I page 76 Vol IV Archæological Survey) be followed, then the 447 of the plate of Shilâditya VI. would be A. D. 642 and the Sassanians may after all have destroyed Valabhi."* (Bom. Gaz. VIII, p. 274).

One of the inscriptions (which however is not genuine) shows that in Jayadeva's time (Vikrama Samvat 714) Dhinki was the eastern part of his dominion at Saurâshtra, thus showing that the Saurâshtra of those days was limited to the coast belt of the peninsula of Kâthiawâr (Bom. Gaz, VIII, p. 275). But the questions whether Div belonged to the Châlukyas or not and whether it was ever known as a *Pârasika island* remain unanswered.

Even supposing that Div belonged to the Châlukyas and was named the "Parsi island" after the Parsis, still we are unable to think of a Parsi king ruling there at the time. Under the circumstances it would not be correct to render the word अधिप as "*king.*"

(2) Now we give the second sense of the Sanskrit passsge below:—

"Of him who made the kings of the Kameras, of the Pârasikas and of Simhala and other islands to pay tribute."

As stated above it is difficult to say, who the *king* of the Pârasikâs could be in Southern Gujarat and Konkan

* In A. D. 775 (Bom. Gaz. 1, Pt. I p 188).

* We shall see hereafter that the Gurjara kings were the feudatories of the Western Châlukyas. One of them Dadda III is, in the Record of the year A. D. 706 represented as waging war with the king of the West, who was certainly a Valabhi king and the Record of A. D. 736 states that Jayabhatta III quieted in battle the impetuosity of the king of Valabhi. (Bom Gaz I, pt. II, p. 316). This however does not show, that Valabhi kings were the vassals of the Gurjaras.

in Vinayâdityâ's time. If we take आधिप here in the sense of the "head" or the "leader," there is no difficulty, so far as the Parsis are concerned, but that sense would not apply to the other nations. As the Kisseh-i-Sanjan mentions Div as the first place of landing, (although the Gujarati memorandum and the travellers' accounts do not mention it at all), we may well say that the tradition in the Ki-seh may have been derived from some such interpretation of the inscription, as we have given above. In that case the traditional date of the coming of our ancestors at Div would be *exactly* 19 years A.D. before 716 when the Parsis are said to have landed at Sanjan.

Mr. Lewis Rice,* who has also noticed the above inscription says:— "It is strange to find a Pârasika island in this connection, unless indeed the Pahlavas, *retaining the tradition of a supposed Persian origin*,† should have given the name to some island in the south." (Indian Antiquary VIII, p. 24).

(3) But a third meaning is also possible, and that too strictly in accordance with the rules of Sanskrit grammar. We dissolve the compound thus:—

करदीकृता: कमेरा; पारसीका: सिंहलादि-द्वीपाधिपाश्च येन तस्य। "Of him who made the Kameras, the Pârasikas and the kings of Simhala and other islands to pay tribute."

It will be seen that in this translation, there is a reference simply to the *Pârasikas* and not to their king. These were made to pay tribute by the Hindu monarch Vinayâditya, who ruled in Southern Gujarat and Konkan from 680-81 A.D. to 696 A.D. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar however, he died about 697 A. D.(Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 187 .

Date of Landing in India and Payment of Tribute.

There are 2 stone inscriptions and 5 copper-plate grants of the time of Vinayâditya. His last copper-plate grant is dated Saka 616(A. D. 694). As his rule extended up to A. D. 696-7 and as none of his inscriptions or grants that we have come across contain any reference to the *Pârasikas*, it is reasonable to infer that the event of the *Pârasikas* having paid tribute must have taken place between A. D. 694 to 696-7. Now according to the traditional account of Lord's informant, the Pârsis first landed at Sanjan and some of them went to Nowsari, *where on payment of tribute and homage, they were allowed to land by the Raja*. No doubt at the time Nowsari was the capital of *a minor branch* of the Châlukyas, but the kings of this branch were feudatories of the main Western Châlukya dynasty. Vinayâditya's copper-plate grants were issued from Sorab in Mysore, Lakshmaneshwar in the Miraj State, and *Surat* and other places. Vijayâditya's grants were issued from Bâdâmi in Bijapur state, Nerur in Sawantwadi State, and *Bulsar* and other places. This shows that Vijayâditya and his father ruled over the territory from Mysore to Bulsar and Surat. (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. II, pp. 368-374.)

Considering all these circumstances we might infer that the *Pârasikas*, who were made to pay

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*He translates the passage thus:—"Levier of tribute from the rulers of Kavera, Pârasika and Simhala and other islands."

†An answer to the above remarks in italics may be given in the words of Prof. Weber, who puts up the following note on the word Pahlava occurring in the Râmâyana and Mahâbhârata:—"As the name of a people, the word Pahlava became early foreign to the Persians, learned reminiscences excepted: in the Pahlavi texts themselves, for instance, it does not occur. The period when it passed over to the Indians therefore would have to be fixed for about the 2nd–4th century A.D. and we shall have to understand by it, not directly the Persians, who are called Pârasikas, rather, but specially the Arsacidan Parthians." (Hist. of Indian Literature, p. 188.)

tribute by Vinayâditya, were most probably the Parsi refugees from Iran.

The fact that according to the 16th Sanskrit Shloka* (as given in the manuscript P. S.) the king grants permission to the Parsis to come (आगच्छन्तु प्रकामं) corroborates the inference, which we have arrived at above. If so, the Parsis came to India in A. D. 697. But the traditional date of their landing at Sanjan is A. D. 716. How are we to reconcile the two dates? The solution is certainly difficult.

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan the Parsis first landed at Div, and after staying there for 19 years they moved to Sanjan. Thus they arrived at Div in A. D. 697, since as stated above, the traditional date of the coming of our ancestors at Sanjan is A. D. 716. But as neither Lord's informant nor the Gujarati memorandum mentions Div at all, it may be that two bands of fugitives came to Sanjan at different times—one in A. D. 697 and the other in A.D. 716 or that the Parsis after landing at Sanjan in A. D. 697 went to Div,† whence they returned to Sanjan in A. D. 716, to live there *permanently*.‡

Before we pass on we will just allude to a remark of our friend Prof. Hodivala. In support of his theory that the Parsis arrived in India in Vikram Samvat 992 (A. D. 936), he said that the proposition "explained why not a single reference to the Parsis in Western India during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries has been ever found, though they are *popularly supposed* to have arrived so early as 716 A. C." The answer is found in the inscriptions already quoted, namely that they have been expressly mentioned in the grants of Saka 622 (A.D. 700-1), and Saka 627 (A. D. 705-6), and an undated grant, probably of a later date.

Vijayaditya.

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan it was the kind Jâdi Râná or Jai Râná, who gave shelter to the hapless Parsis, though we must say that Lord's informant and the other travellers simply mention a Hindu Râjâ without naming him. We are deeply indebted to the writer of the Kisseh for preserving the name of the beneficent king Jâdi or Jai Râná. It is also found in the Gujarati memorandum which however does not agree with the Kisseh in other respects. By A. D. 692 in his father's time, Vijayâditya had been appointed *Yuvârâja* or prince-regent. As Dr. Fleet says, "this title was used to denote a person, who having been selected by the reigning king as his

* A note on the date of the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas is given in another chapter.

† Supposing, of course, that Div belonged to the Châlukya emperors.

‡ Mr. G. K. Nariman in one of his lectures referred to a passage in Futh-ul-Buldân, which makes allusion to a number of Zoroastrians, who left Kerman in ships just about the time, which would synchronise with the traditional advent of the Parsis into India. (Sanj Vartman Pateti No. of 9-6-1916, p. 132). Dr. J. J. Modi quotes Ahmed Al-Biladuri (about A. D. 850) who says about an Arab general :—"He conquered Jiraft by force and having proceeded to Kerman subjugated the people and made for Kafs, where a number of the Persians, who had immigrated, opposed him at Hormuz. So he fought with and gained a victory over them and many people of Kerman fled by sea". This passage speaks of an immigration to Hormuz, a fight with immigrants, and a flight by sea. All these coincide with what is said of the Parsi immigration in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan and support it. (See Dr. Modi's article in the *Times of India* dated 12-2-1920).

The traditional date of landing is 85 Yazdagardi. It must be noted that at that time there were three eras current in Iran, one the Yazdagardi era, which commenced in A. D. 631, the other the Persian era, which commenced in A. D. 611 and the third the Parsi era which commenced in A.D. 651. About the second era, Prof. Rehatsek says, that "it was established ten years before the Hijra" (See his paper on the Baw and Gâobârâh Sephabuds B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII pp. 439-450) Could it be that the date was given as *sâl 85*, meaning the Persian year, and not the Yazdagardi year?

successor, was admitted meanwhile to a share in the administration—probably with a view to really securing the succession" (Bom. Gaz. I pt.II, pp. 371, 285 note). That Vijayâditya exercised vast powers appears clear from a grant of A. D. 692 wherein at his request his father granted a village to some Brahmans. He assisted his father in a campaign to the north, and pushing on further to the north even than his father, there acquired for him the signs of the rivers Gangâ and Yamunâ. (Idem, pp. 369, 371). It is therefore highly probable, that Vijayâditya may have been directly or indirectly *connected* with the greatest event in the history of the Parsis. As stated above the event is not mentioned even in the last grant of Vinayâditya dated the full-moon day of Kârtika Saka 616 (9th October 694); it must therefore have taken place after this date, but before Vijayâditva's accession in Shrâvana Saka 619 (A. D. 696),* when we may well suppose his father to be in a tottering condition of health. The event has been mentioned in Vijayâditya's inscriptions only. although it is connected with his father's time, which shows that even in his father's life-time shortly before his death, Vijayâditya was virtually the paramount ruler. Was he then the Jadi or Jai Râṇâ? The answer is somewhat difficult as we shall see later on. There are 11 inscriptions of his time, seven of which are stone inscriptions and four copper-plate grants. The last grant is from *Bulsar* in Gujarat, which contains a charter issued from the town of Mangalâpuri..... Contrary to the usual practice of the Gujarat grants, it is dated not in the Kalachuri or Chedi era, but in Samvat Saka 653 (A. D. 731-32) (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, pp. 370-374).

We now give a brief sketch of the history of Vijayâditya. According to Dr. Fleet he came to the throne in the month of Shravan Saka Samvat 619 current or in A.D. 696. (*N. B.*:—At one time the learned Doctor put the date in A.D. 697) (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 370 note). Vijayâdita continued to reign till Saka 655 A.D. (733-34). Of his time we have several inscriptions. He is spoken of in the inscriptions as a king, who maintained the supremacy acquired by his father in the north and by his grand-father in the south. His reign seems to have been a peaceful one, with his capital at Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi. (Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, pp. 28-29, Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, pp. 371-74). His name also appears in the form Vijayâditya Deva. He used the titles, महाराजाधिराज, परमेश्वर, भट्टारक and in one instance परमभट्टारक, ("the most worshipful one".)

Hindu Names Contracted. Vijayaditya-Jadi.

It is common knowledge that Hindu names undergo contractions in various ways. The following important points should be noted:—

(1) The names of kings and royal personages usually consist of two component parts. The terminal part is more or less an epithet of honour and is some such word as देव, आदित्य, आश्रय, अर्क, राज, भट्ट, दुर्ग वर्ष, वर्मा, मल्ल, रुद्र, तुंग, अंक, वर्धन &c.

(2) Sometimes two different terminal words are applied to the name of one and the same king; for example, दंतिदुर्ग दंतिवर्मा, जगत्तुंग जगदरुद्र, जयवर्मा जयसिंह, विजयराज विजयवर्मा, कीर्तिवर्मा कीर्तिदेव, विजयादित्य विजयार्क &c.

(3) At times the terminal word is optionally dropped; as शांतिवर्मा=शांत विक्रमांक=विक्रम, विक्रमादित्य=विक्रम, षष्टदेव=चट्ट, तैलप=तैल. In some instances, some letters of the terminal word are optionally dropped; as मंगलीश्वर=मंगलीश (Fleet's Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, pp. 18b, 32b, 86b, 90, 96b).

* Or A. D.697 Ind. Ant. VII, 301. Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II p. 370. ant p. 189.

(4) We also find that words are added in the beginning to show greater respect; for example, सोमेश्वर=वीरसोमेश्वर, वल्लाल=वीरवल्लाल (idem, p. 18b, 64).

(5) An instance in which both the preceding and terminal epithets are dropped is found in the name of the later Western Châlukya king Someshvara IV (1182 to 1189 A. D.), who was also called *Vira-Someshvara* or simply *Soma* (idem, p. 54).

(6) Vikramâditya VI (A. D. 1075 to 1126) was a famous Western Châlukya king, who bore other names such as कालिविक्रम, विक्रमांक, विक्रमार्क and पेरमादि This last is a corrupt form of प्रेमादि=प्रेमादित्य This king पेरमादि of the Kadamab dynasty was also named पेर्मे (Fleet's Kanarese dynasties, pp. 48, 92.)

(7) Lokâditya, a feudatory of the Râshtrakuta king Krishna II had his name contracted to *Lokade*, evidently a corrupt form of *Lokâdi* (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 411, note.)

8. The Eastern Châlukya king Jayasinha I was also named Vijayâditya I. (Ind. Ant. VII, p. 243). In one place Pundit Bhagwanlal Indraji calls *Vijayadeva*, a vicarious name for *Jayadeva* (Ind. Ant. XIII, p. 424).

(9) The consonant य in the body a word is sometimes dropped for euphony; for example विजयांवा=विजांवा. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 296).*

Considering all these instances it is possible that the name विजयादित्य would be changed to जयादित्य† then जयादि, then ज्यादि and जादि (*Jâdi*).

By dropping the terminal word आदित्य from जयादित्य, we get the name Jaya, which is the name found in some of the manuscripts of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan.

Jai or Jadi Rana in Kisseh-i-Sanjan. Was he Vijayaditya ?

A few close parallels showing the identification of Jâdi (Râna) with Vijayâditya are given below :—

(1) As seen above the name Jâdi was a short form of Vijayâditya.

(2) In the Kisseh-i-Sanjan Jâdi Râna is called *Rae-rayan*, "king of kings." *

The Dastur speaks about the king thus :—

Ja nasla shâh-râyan, nik-kâr ast
Ba Hind andar hamishah nâmdâr ast.
Dehad dar shahar o mulka khud panâhash
Kunad dar hâl aj shekaftah negâhash.

"He is beneficent and descended from kings of kings.† He has been always famous in India. He will give shelter in his own city and kingdom. He will look upon our condition with an eye of mercy."

In the inscription Vijayâditya is called पृथिवीवल्लभमहाराज-अधिराजपरमेश्वर-भट्टारक (the favourite of the world, great king, supreme king, supreme lord, the venerable one). Further he is called समस्तभुवनाश्रय : (asylum of the whole world), शत्रुमदभंजनत्वात् (by reason of having broken the pride of enemies), उदारत्वात् (by reason of liberality) and निरवद्यत्वात् (by reason of blamelessness (Ind. Antiquary IX, 128–129).

(2) In two places in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan Jâdi or Jai Râna is called a prince—in couplet No. 149 he is called *Râi-Jadah* and in No. 214 *Shah-Jadah*. This seems an in-

* Cf. also Vijayangara=Bijnagar (B. B. R. A. S. XII, p. 336.)

† It may be noted that Jayâditya was the name of the Author of the Vritti Sutra, *i.e.* Kâshikâ (B.B.R.A.S. XVI,-200).

* See couplet No. 141 in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan by R. B. Paymaster.

† Kingly kings. (Eastwick.)

consistency; for, as already seen he has been called "king of kings." The other traditional accounts also speak of him as a Hindu râjâ or a Hindu prince. It appears that the writers of the tradition have confounded the two facts—namely that the Râjâ was a prince-regent for some time, and that he became a paramount king afterwards.

(3) According to Henry Lord's informant the Râjâ was living at Nowsari, which was the capital of the Lata territory * or Southern Gujaratâ, ruled over by a branch of the Western Châlukyas. It was known in those days as *Navasá. rikâ* (Bom. Gaz I, Pt II, p. 310). The mention of this city is the only obstacle in our way to decide that Jâdi or Jai was Vijayâditya, since his capital was at Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi. But there is no doubt that Nowsari was the capital of his feudatory Jayâshraya, and was under his suzerainty. We learn from the inscription that the tribute was taken from the Parsis by Vinayâditya. He was very old at the time and his affairs were managed by his son Vijayâditya, who was his regent. Hence it is not difficult to understand how according to the tradition, the Parsis are said to have paid tribute to Jâdi Rânâ (or Vijayâditya).

(4) As the Râjâ ruled from A. D. 696–7 to 733, the traditional date of the installation of the Iranshah Atash Beheram at Sanjan fell during his reign.

Was Jayashraya, Jai Rana ?

We give below an extract from the account of a minor Châlukya dynasty given by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his Early History of the Dekkan :—

During the reign of Vikramâditya I (A. D. 655-680), a branch of the Châlukya dynasty was founded in Southern Gujarat or the country called Lâta in ancient times. Vikramâditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasimhavarman Dharâshraya, who thus was another son of Pulakesi II. Shryâshraya Shilâditya son of Jayasimhavarman made a grant of land, while residing at Nowsâri* in the year 421 of the Traikutaka era (A. D. 670) and another in 448 of the same era (A. D. 692), while encamped at Kusumeshvara. In both these Shryâshraya is called *Yuvârâja* or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasimhavarman named Vinayâditya Yuddhamalla Jayâshraya Mangalarâja issued a similar charter in the Shaka year 653 (A. D. 731). Pulakesi the younger brother of Jayâshrâya Mangalarâja granted a village in 490 (A. D. 739). Both are styled kings. It appears that Jayasimhavarman though made sovereign of Southern Gujarat did not rule over the province himself but made his son Saryâshraya his regent, who held that position for more than 22 years He died before his father. Jayâshraya Mangalarâja succeeded the latter as king, and he was succeeded by Pulakesi † . .....Thus Shryâshrayas' dates were A. D. 670 or 671 to 692, of Jayâshraya A. D. 731, and of Pulakesi A. D. 739. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, pp. 186–187).

* From the Mahi or the Kim to the Damaganga (Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties p. 131).

* श्राश्रयश्रीशिलादित्ययुवराज (:) नवसारिकामाधिवसन् नवसारिवास्तव्यकास्यपसगोत्रागामि स्वामिन : पुत्र : स्वमंतस्वामी तस्य पुत्राय... भागिकस्वामिने ... आसट्टिग्रामं ... दत्तवान् "Shrâshraya, Shilâditya, the heir-apparent residing at Navasari gave the village of Assatti...to Bhâgikasvâmi...the son of Svamantasvami, who is the son of Agamisvami of the Kashyapa stock living at Navasari" (B. B. R. A. S. XVI, pp 1–4)

† In Pulakesi grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of *Tâgik-as* (or Arabs) which had destroyed the Saindhava, Kachchhela, Saurashtra, Châvoataka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings and on its way to Dakshiṇâpatha...had come to Nowsari,... which was the captial of the Châlukyas of Lâta or southern Gujarat (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II., p 187 8).

We also give a short summary of the account by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji :—

The Châlukyas conquered their Gujarat provinces from the south after subduing the Konkan Mauryas of Puri, either Râjâpuri, that is, Janjira, or Elephanta in Bombay Harbour. The regular establishment of the Châlukyas in Southern Gujarat seems to have been the work of Dhârashraya Jayasimhavarman, son of Pulakesi II, and younger brother of Vikramaditya Satyâshraya (A. D. 670-80).

A grant of Jayasimhavarman's son Shilâditya found in Nowsari describes Jayasimhavarman as receiving the kingdom from his brother Vikramâditya....He had 5 sons and enjoyed a long life, ruling apparently from Nowsari....Five copper-plates remain of this branch of the Châlukyas....Two of these show that these kings treated as their overlords the main dynasty of the Southern Châlukyas, as respectful mention is made in the first plate of Vikramâditya Satyâshraya and in the second of his son Vinayâditya Satyâshraya.

Jayasimhavarman ruled from A. D. 666* to 693. He was succeeded by his second son Mangalarâja who ruled from A. D. 698 to 731.† (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. I, pp. 107-8). About this latter king, Dr. J. F. Fleet says in his Dynasties of Kanarese Districts:—

"A copper-plate grant of Vijayâditya from Bulsar dated A. D. 731-2 contains a charter issued from the town of Mangalapuri by the *Rájá* Mangalrasa who had the *birudàs* (other names) of Vinayâditya, Yuddhamalla and *Jayâshraya*, and was the second son of Dharâshraya-Jayasimhavarman, the younger brother of Vikramâditya I" (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 374).

It will be seen that Shryâshraya was a Yuvarâja till his death in A. D. 692. According to Pandit Bhagvanlal, his brother Jayâshraya Mangalarâja came to the throne of Nowsari in A. D. 698. His father must have lived till then, although we have no definite record, and as second brother he must have succeeded his brother as a *Yuvrâjà* after him. The date A. D. 698 given by Pandit Bhagvanlal for his accession has not been given by Dr. Fleet and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 336b), who leave a gap between the years A. D. 692 and 698. Therefore the date of his accession might be a little before A. D. 698. This Jayâshraya was the ruler at Nowsari up till A. D. 731. He was thus a contemporary and feudatory of Vinayaditya and Vijayâditya. His name might be contracted into "Jaya." Besides as the epithet *Devà* was usually applied to the names of kings, his name might have been shortened from *Jàyàdevà* into Jaide or Jadi. Under the circumstances Jayâshraya might have been the *Jadi-Ráná* of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. The traditional date of the advent of our ancestors very nearly coincided with the date of his accession, and the traditional date of the building of the Atash Beheram Iranshah did certainly fall during his reign. In the commencement of his rule his paramount lord was Vinayâditya.

The passage in the inscription, which we have already considered, states that the Pârasikas were made to pay tribute by Vinayâditya. It might be that the transaction of the payment of tribute by the Parsis was negotiated and carried out by the local ruler of Nowsari, but as he was a mere feudatory of the paramount sovereign Vinayâditya, the transaction might have been ascribed to the latter in the inscription, just as in our own days we see that the acts of ministers are ascribed to the sovereign.

We have stated all the facts &c. as they stand. We must however

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* Dr. Fleet gives A. D. 671-692.

† B. B. R. A. S., XVI-5.

candidly admit that the evidence in our records is so very meagre, that it is extremely difficult to choose between Vijayâditya and Jayâshraya, but with the materials at hand one may think with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, that Jayâshraya was the Jai Rânâ of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, although we are greatly inclined to identify Vijayâditya with Jyadi or Jadi (Rânâ), specially because he was a king of kings.

* * *

A Feudatory of Chalukyas.

We now propose to give here (of course parenthetically) a short account of another feudatory of the Western Châlukyas. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji has determined the dates of some of the Gurjara kings. A Gurjara copper-plate grant found at Nowsari gives the following geneology :—Dadda I, Jayabhata I, Dadda II, Jayabhata II, Dadda III, Jayabhata III. This last king ruled from the years 456 to 486 of the Chedi era, that is from A. D. 704–5 to 734–5. In one of the inscriptions his name is also given as Jayabhatadeva (Ind. Ant. V, 109 ff). Five grants namely the Kâvi, Nowsari, Kaira, Umetâ and Ilâo grants give us particulars about the abovesaid Gurjara dynasty. Of these, the last two have been supposed to be forgeries. The Nowsari grant was issued from the camp at Kâyâvatâra, which is identified with Kâvi in the Jambusar Taluka of the Broach district. The villages mentioned in the grants are all in the Broach district. From one of the grants it appears that Akrureshwar or Ankleshwar Taluka also belonged to the Gurjara kings. In the Umetâ and Ilâo grants Dadda II is called a Mahârâjâdhirâja, but these grants have been as seen above rejected as spurious. In the Nowsari and Kaira grants he is simply described as having attained *Panch-mahâ-shabda* (five titles) and in the seals of the Kaira grants he is simply called a *Sâmanta* (a feudal lord). Dadda III and Jayabhata III are described in the Nowsari grant as having attained the *Panch-mahâ-shabda*, and the latter has also in the Kâvi grant the title of *Maha-samantadhipati* (or lord over feudal chiefs). This title shows considerably higher rank than that of Dadda I, but it still indicates subordination to some higher authority. Pandit Bhagwanlal thus concludes :—"The Gurjaras could not have been vassals of the rulers of Valabhi ; for Dadda II gave protection to the lord of Valabhi, when he had been defeated by Harsha-deva; and in the Kâvi grant Jayabhata III prides himself upon having quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi. It was probably the Châlukya family whether the Gujarat branch or Vâtâpi dynasty, that the Gurjaras acknowledged as their supreme lords." (Ind. Ant. XIII, pp. 73, 80.) The Kaira grant was issued from Nândipuri (Nandod or Nandipure to the east of Broach). Hence Pandit Bhagwanlal thought that the Gurjara power extended over the present Broach district.

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says :—"It is possible that the power of the earlier Gurjara kings spread as far as Bulsâr and even up to the Konkan limits. It was apparently from them that during the reign of his brother Vikramâditya*, Jayasimhavarman took south Gujarat, driving the Gurjaras north of the Tapti, and eventually confining them to the Broach district,—the Gurjaras either acknowledging Châlukya sovereign or withstanding the Châlukyas and retaining their smal territory in the Broach district by the help of the Valabhis, with whom they were in alliance. In either case the Châlukya power seems to have

* Father of Vinayâditya (A. D. 655-680). Bom, Gaz. I, pt II, p. 336 b.

hemmed in the Broach Gurjaras." (Bom. Gaz. I, pt I, p 108).

It thus appears that the dominion of Jayabhatta III did not extend as far as Nowsari or Sanjan. Therefore, although his name might assume the contracted form *Jaya*, still, in our opinion, he could not have been Jadi or Jai Rana.

* * *

Were Parasikas Syrians?— Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Letters.

But a question might be asked whether the *Pârasikas* mentioned in the inscription were Parsis. The question might seem absurd in view of the fact, that the word *Pârasikas* has been used for the Parsis by all the Sanskrit writers, and also it occurs in that sense in the sixteen Sanskrit Shlokas supposed to have been recited before Jâdi Rânâ. However Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar stated in his Early History of the Dekkan that "they were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar" (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. II, p. 189.) This conjecture of the learned Doctor would be regarded as fatal to the arguments advanced above. I therefore wrote him letters, to which he kindly replied. The correspondence is given below :—

On the 11th October 1917 I wrote to my worthy Guru as under :—

"I hope you will remember me as your old pupil of the Deccan College in the years 1892 to 1894 and will be pleased to know that I have been continuing the studies of Sanskrit, in which I take deep interest. I have been for some time past reading a long paper on the Ancient Parsis of India before one of the literary societies here, with a special reference to the passages in Sanskrit books and inscriptions. Recently I came across the important inscription of the Western Châlukya monarch Vinayâditya (A. D. 680 to 697). (Indian Antiquary IX, p. 127 ff). Therein we read करदीकृतकामेर-पारसीक-सिंहलादि-द्विपाधिपस्य &c. In your Early History of the Dekkan I was surprised to read that 'the Pârasikas were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar.' (Bom. Gaz. 1, pt. II, p. 189); for, I all along thought, that the Pârasikas meant the Parsis and none else.

"Now, Sir, the date of the arrival of the Parsi refugees after the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty is traditionally known to be A. D. 697 (716). I therefore thought, that when the inscription stated, that the Parsi '*king*' was made a tributary, it referred to the first arrival of our ancestors, who came to India just about the time of Vinayâditya's rule and during the *Yuvarajaship* of his son Vijayâditya (= Jayâditya= Jyâdi or Jâdi Rânâ of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan). This Jâdi Rânâ gave us protection and has been remembered with gratitude by the Parsis for the last twelve centuries.

"I do not know what led your learned self to think of the Parsis as Syrians, but I guess, that you may have had a difficulty in identifying a Parsi kingdom on the western coast of India at the time. Can we not take अधिप to mean simply a '*leader*'? The Kisseh-i-Sanjan refers to a learned Dastur as the leader of the band, and it is just likely, that he may have belonged to the royal family. On the other hand to avoid the difficulty, may we not take अधिप with सिंहलादिद्वीप and translate the passage thus :—'Of him, who made tributary the Kameras, the Pârasikas, and the kings of Ceylon and other islands ? The passage would show that the Pârasikas were made to pay certain taxes.

"In conclusion, I hope you will excuse the trouble and shall deem it

a great favour, if you will kindly reconsider the matter and let me know your views."

In continuation of the above letter, I wrote on the 15th October 1917 thus :—

"In continuation of my previous letter, I respectfully draw your attention to the fact, that according to one of the traditions recorded by Rev. Henry Lord in A. D. 1621, the Parsi refugees were allowed to land on payment of homage and tribute. This is exactly what is stated in Vinayâditya's grant."

In his reply dated 22nd October 1917 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says :—

"I am in receipt of yours of the 11th and the 15th instant. Referring to the passage in my Early History of the Dekkan, you will see that I have spoken of the Pârasikas as *probably* the Syrians settled in the Southern part of the western coast of India. You will see that the word *probably* was used to show, that it was a mere conjecture. To that conjecture I was led by the *Kâvera* or *Kerala* and the *Simhala* Island being situated on the southern coast. If you connect *Adhipa* with *Kâvera* or *Kerala* and *Pârasika*, it will be a good deal difficult to arrive at the sense, which you wish to lay on the passage. But most of the difficulty will disappear, when you connect *adhipa* with *Simhalâdidvipa* only, and the sense will then be 'of him who made the Kâveras or the Keralas, and the Pârasikas, as well as the kings of Simhala and other islands to pay tribute.' That the early Châlukyas founded a branch kingdom in Southern Gujarat is shown in my Early History. of Dekkan pp. 54-55, corresponding to pp. 186-187 of B. G. I., Pt. II. It is not unlikely therefore that the expression करदीकृतपारसीक may refer to your ancestors, who paid a tribute to the local Hindu prince. Your 'Jyâdi' might be regarded as a correct form of Jayâditya, who probably represented at that time the Châlukya power in Southern Gujarat. But I do not think that Vijayâditya, the son of Vinayâditya, could have been meant, as you will see from the short notice of the Gujarat branch given in my book and referred to above.

"These antiquarian matters require a long time to be properly considered, and my eyesight which is considerably impaired, as well as general debility have increased my difficulties. However I have given you the best solution, I can now think of, of the question raised by you."

I thanked the worthy Doctor for the trouble he had taken and wrote back on the 24th October 1917 as under :—

"I cordially thank you for your very kind, prompt and full reply.

"I am glad, that you agree with me on good many points—the difference of opinion between us being extremely small. As you say that you do not think that Vijayâditya could have been Jâdi Rânâ, I take the liberty to place some more facts before you, and I hope, you will, in view of the importance of the subject, excuse me for this further trouble.

"It is only in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan (A. D. 1600), that we come across the name of Jâdi Rânâ. Some of the manuscripts of that book give the reading Jâi (=Jaya in Sanskrit) Rânâ. According to one of the traditional accounts the Parsi refugees went to the Rânâ of Nowsari, and on payment of homage and tribute, they were allowed to land.

"Now I find from your Early History of the Dekkan, Dr. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts and other works, that the kings of a minor branch of the Western Châlukyas had their capital at Nowsari. They were feudatories of the main branch, and we see that Vijayâditya (A. D. 696-733) of the main branch was a contemporary of Jayâshraya Mangalarâja

(A. D. 698-731) of the minor branch. The question that puzzled me most was whether Vijayâditya (= Jaya or Jâdi) was the Jaya or Jâdi Rânâ, or whether Jayâshraya was the Jai of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. As stated above the data for the solution of the problem are very meagre. The Kisseh-i-Sanjan is our main source of knowledge. In one place, the writer calls the Râjâ *rai rayân* (= king of kings) and in two other places he is called *Shâh-jâdah* and *rai jâdah* (= prince). There is an inconsistency here ; but I thought, it was important, as showing that Jâdi Rânâ was at one time a prince-regent, and at another time, an emperor. That Vijayâditya acted in both the capacities, as also the fact that the epigraphic record is found in his copper-plate grants led me to conclude, that Vijayâditya was Jâdi Rânâ. If we chuck up Vijayâditya, do you think Jayâshraya was the Jai Rânâ ? Hoping to be excused &c."

To the above letter the learned Doctor replied on the 29th October 1917 as under :—

" The evidence for determining what the name was of the Châlukya prince, who received the Parsis at Nowsari is meagre. The Kisseh-i-Sanjan was written, according to date given by you, about 900 years after the event, which it reports, and it is quite possible, that facts belonging to different periods or different conditions of things were jumbled together in the tradition reported by the author of the work. Still taking the reading Jâi Rânâ to be correct and comparing the dates as given in the Early History of the Dekkan, I think it not unlikely, that the prince, who admitted the Parsis was Jayâshtraya, the successor of Shryâsraya and second son of Jayasimhavarman, to whom the Lâta province was allotted by Vikramâditya."

We need hardly say that we fully agree with the remarks of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar about the Kisseh-i-Sanjan that " it is quite possible that facts belonging to different periods and different conditions of things were jumbled together," and the truthfulness of these remarks is apparent, although we must say, that we yield to none in our appreciation of the great value of that traditional record.

Summary.

The result of our survey may be briefly given here. It will be seen that there are two sets of circumstances to be considered :—

(1) According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan the Parsi refugees first landed in the island of Div, and 19 years later they moved to Sanjan. According to Henry Lord's and other accounts they landed first at Sanjan.

(2) The date of their arrival has been given as Yazdgardi year 85 (=716 A. D.) It may be the date of the *permanent settlement* at Sanjan.

(3) The Sanskrit inscription of Vijayâditya (697 A. D.) refers to the payment of tribute by the Parsis. Lord's tradition mentions the payment of the tribute by the Parsi refugees to the Hindu king of Nowsari near Sanjan ; and according to the 16th Sanskrit Shloka they were granted permission to land and live in prosperity.

(4) The Sanskrit inscription may be translated to mean that " the leader of the Parsi island was made to pay tribute." Unfortunately we have so far no proof to say that the " Parsika island " was Div, or that it belonged to the Châlukya kings.

(5) Vijayâditya was the regent in 696-697 A. D., and Jayâshraya was a tributary king of Nowsari at the time.

(6) The name Vijayâditya might be contracted into Jyâdi, and similarly Jayâshraya into Jaya (=Jâi). Both these were rulers in 716 A. D., the traditional date of the arrival of

our ancestors at Sanjan, and in 721 A. D. when the Iranshâh Fire was installed, supposing the traditional dates to be correct.

From the above facts and circumstances, it would not be wrong to conclude that our ancestors were on payment of tribute allowed to land on the Western coast of India in 696 or 697 A. D. when Vijayâditya was practically the dominant ruler with Jayâshraya as his feudatory at Nowsari near Sanjan, and that A. D. 716 was most probably the date, when the Parsis made a permanent settlement and home in Sanjan.

Arrival of Parsis to India by Sea.

An argument has been advanced, that the story of the Parsis coming to India by sea is not tenable, as in those days the sea swarmed, with pirates and sea-robbers. It is true, that besides storms the Indian seas were full of dangers, and the worst of all dangers was from pirates. In the 8th and 9th centuries Sangârs, Kerks and Meds sallied from the coasts of Sindh, Cutch and Kathiawar, ravaged the banks of the Euphrates, and even the coasts of the Red Sea as far as possible. The Persians complained of the Indian pirates in the 6th century. In the 7th century the islands of Bahrein in the Persian gulf were held by the piratical tribe of Abd-ul-Kais and in 880 A. D. the seas were so disturbed, that the Chinese ships carried from 400 to 500 armed men and supplies of Naphtha to beat off the pirates. They stretched 5 or 6 miles apart in fleets of from 20 to 30 boats, and whenever one caught sight of a merchant vessel, he raised a smoke, and all who saw, gathered, boarded and plundered to stop, but *let it go, hoping again to fall in with it.**

In spite of all this the trade with the western coast of India did not cease; on the contrary it flourished every day—the most important reason being, that although all made voyages across the sea, they preferred as much as possible to hug the coast. Also as Pliny says, the merchant vessels carried a guard of archers. It was this close connection between the Western India and Persia, that in 638 led the Khalif Umar (634-643 A. D.) to found the city of Basra partly for purposes of trade and partly to prevent the Indian princes sending help to the Persians.* × × ×

From the 6th century, when the Persians began to take a leading part in the trade of the East, they not only visited India, but sailed in their own ships as far as China (Reinaud's Abulfeda I-II-383). Auquetil Du Persou (Zend Avesta I-336) speaks of Persians going to China in the 7th century with a son of Yazdezard. According to Wilford (As. Res. IV-235) another party of refugees went in 750 A. D. when the dynasty of the Abbasâd Khalifs began to rule. In 845 A. D. there is a mention of Muhapas or Mobeds in Canton (Yule's Cathay I-96) and about 60 years later Macudi notices that there were many fire-temples in China (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 18, p. 248). The Chavdâ kings, Vanarâja (A. D. 745-806), and his son Yogarâja (A. D. 806-841) are recorded to have made great efforts to put down piracy on the west Kathiawad coast (idem, p. 527). The Chinese ships in the 7th and 8th centuries coasted along Western India by Div in Kathiawar and Diul in Sindh (Yule's Cathay I-78.) The chief centre of trade was Thana' which is mentioned as a mart by the Arab writers of the 9th and 10th

* Yule's Marco Polo II--330. Renand's Memoir 181, 200, 283. Ind. Ant. VIII-335. Bom. Gaz., Vol. 13 pp. 432-434.

* See also Tabari par Zontanberg, Vol. III, p. 401

centuries. × × × Sanjan* was a mart and great city in the 10th century. The chief ports with which the Thana coast was connected in the 9th to 12th centuries were Broach, Cambay, Somnath in Gujrat, Dihval in Sindh, Basrah, Obdollah and Ormaz on the Persian Gulf, Aden, Socotra on the Red Sea, Mombaza in Africa, Java, Malacca and China.

The articles of trade sent from the Thana ports—(namely Sopara, Sanjan, Kalyan and Chaul), to Persia were cocoanuts, mangoes, lemons, betel-nuts, leaves, muslin, ivory, timber, teak and bamboos. The articles imported from Persia were dates, Dirhem coins, copper, wines, silks, swords, horses &c. No ships came to Thana without horses. As many as 10,000 horses a year were imported. Women, eunuchs and boys are said to have been brought by Jews through the Persian Gulf. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 13, pp. 431-434).

If then the trade survived all the dangers of the sea, if according to our account the Iranian refugees had nothing valuable with them, and if they were fully armed as the tradition goes, why should we not believe the story of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, that the Iranian refugees crossed the sea to reach India? It is very likely that in accordance with the tradition they came hugging the coast—thus avoiding the dangers of the sea and the risk of breaking the rule about not defiling the sea† with human impurities. These ancestors of ours were *orthodox* Zoroastrians—who practised ancient customs and performed religious ceremonials strictly in conformity with the orthodox belief, as we learn from the 16 Sanskrit *Shlokas*, which have come down to us. These ancestors of ours have handed down the religion to us in its prestine purity. It is therefore our bounden duty to keep alive their memory in one shape or another; and this chapter, we need hardly say, is our humble attempt in that direction.

*Albiruni says :—"From Bahruj (Broach) to Sindan (Sanjan) is 50 parasangs ; from thence to Subarah, (Sopârâ) 7 parasangs ; and from thence to Thana 5 parasangs." The correct distances would be 40, 16, and 5 parasangs. (Rienand's Frag. Arab et Pers. p. 121 ; Indian Antiquary I-321.")

† According to Herodotus (I § 189) the Persians did not defile *rivers* with impurities.

Chapter No. 7.

History of 700 Years.

From the time of the arrival of the Parsis to India down to the fifteenth century their history is almost a blank. We have brief notes of about three dozen events which we give below with their respective dates.

A. D. 850.—Some Parsis engraved their Pahlavi signatures as witnesses to a copper-plate grant in Southern India probably before A. D. 850 (See Dr. E. W. West's reply dated 10-6-1898 *re* Dastur Meherji Rana controversy printed in "Dastur Meherji Rana and the Emperor Akbar," p. 79).*

Middle of the 9th Century A. D.—Mardân-farukh son of Auharmazd-dâd the author of the Pahlavi work Sikand-Gumânik Vijâr who wrote the book after the middle, but before the end, of the ninth century, came to India, to make investigations about religious topics. (See Sikand-Gumânik Vijâr Chap. X-44; S. B. E. Vol. XXIV. Intro. pp. 25-27, and p. 169. Also Sk. Collected Writings, edited by Sheheriarji Bharucha Intro. p. 2.)

A. D. 916.—The Arab writer Masudi says: "Up to now (Hijari 304) the Magi worship fires of different kinds in Irak, Fars, Kerman, Sedjestan, Khorasan, Tabaristan, Djebal, Azerbaidjân, Errân, *Inde* (Hindustan), *Sind* and China." (Moacudi, Les Prairies, D'or par C. B. de Maynard Vol. IV, p. 86.)

A. D. 950.—The Arab traveller Misar bin Mukhâlihal (A. H. 339) speaks about Chaul thus:—"There are Musulmans, Christians, Jews and Fire-worshippers there (= at *Saimur* or Chaul).....In the city there are mosques, Christian churches, Synagogues and Fire-temples." Another traveller of the same time Ibn Haukal says:—"The Moslims and infidels in this tract (between Cambay and Chaul) wear the same dresses, and let their beards grow in the same fashion" (see Elliot's Hist. of India, Vol. I, pp. 89, 97). The Bombay Gazetteer gives the date as A. D. 942 (I, Part I, pp. 216-217).

A. D. 942-997.—Some of the Parsis, who since their arrival in India, had remained in the South of Gujarat were attracted to the settlement near the temple of the Kumarika Kshetra (Cambay) at the mouth of the Mahi. The first-comers succeeding in trade, others followed, and in time the Parsi settlement became so strong that by their overbearing conduct, they forced the Hindus to leave the city. Among those who fled was a man of the Dasa Lad caste of Wâniâs, Kalianrai by name. He took refuge in Surat,* where in a short time by trading in pearls, he acquired a large fortune. His wealth gave him consequence, and he had the address to bring together a numerous band of Rajputs and Kolis, who in the night attacked the Parsis, putting many to the sword, and setting fire to their houses. The rest took to flight, and not a single Parsi was to be seen in Kumarika Kshetra. (Account of Cambay in Bom. Gaz. VI, p. 216.)

A. D. 10th Century.—In Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (A. D. 902-968) it is stated that some parts of Hind and Sind belonged to *Guebres*. The Guebres *might* be Persian Zoroastrians, but we are not quite sure.

A. D. 955.—Pahlavi texts were written by Dinpanah Itarpat Dinpanah in the Yazdagardi year 324 at Broach. Some scholars take the year to be 624 instead of 324. (See Dr. Modi's Dâstur Bahaman Kaikobad

* Also Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee. Vol. pp. 442.

* If this is Surat and not Sorath, Kalianrai's date can hardly have been before the 14th century—Foot-note, Bom. Gaz. VI, p. 216.

and Kisseh-i-Sanjan. p. 28; also Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Pahlavi texts, introd. p. 5, text p. 83).

A. D. 1009.—Two Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri caves show that certain Parsis visited the caves on the day Auharmazd of the month Mitro Yazdagardi year 378 (10th October 1009), and on the day Mitro of the month Avân 378 Yazdagardi (24th November 1009).* (See Dr. Burgess's Inscriptions from the Cave Temples, pp. 62-64; and K. R. Kama's Zarathosti Abhyas Ank III. p.160, wherein the date is given as A. D. 999.)

A. D. 1011.—Some Pahlavi memoranda were written by Dinpanah Itarpat Dinpanah above mentioned at Broach for the use of his pupil named Shâzât Shât Farkho Auramazd in Samvat 1067 on Roz Gos, Mah Ardibehesht [Dastur Peshotun B. Sanjana's Ganje Shâyagân introd. p. 3. The date given in Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Pahlavi Texts, introd. by Mr. Beheramgore Anklesaria is 1077 Hindustani (= 1021 A. D.) at p. 5 and 1067 Hindustani(=1011 A. D.) at p. 34.]†

A. D. 1021.—A third Pahlavi inscription in the Kanheri caves shows that another batch of Parsis went there on the day Din, month Mitro of the year 390 Yazdagardi (30th October 1021). [See Burgess's Inscriptions from Cave Temples p. 65].

A. D. 1030.—Alberuni in his "India" says :—Then Zarathushtra went forth from Adharbaijân and preached Magism in Balkha..... ... There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga. (See Alberuni's India, translation by Dr. Sachau Vol. I, p. 21 and Vol. II, p. 262).

A. D. 1079.—Ibraim the Gaznavid attacked a colony of fireworshippers at Dehra Dun.

A. D. 1081—A grant of "some drammas to the Khârâsân Mandli" was made by the king Anantdeva, the ruler of Konkan in Sake 1003 (*i. e.* A. D. 1081). (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 18 n. 7). Pandit Bhagwanlal while translating the passage has put a querry (?) after the words Khârâsân Mandli, showing that he did not understand them. Prof. S. H. Hodivala, in an article entitled "Jâdi Râná and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan" thinks, that the words "Khârâsân Mandli" mean "Khorasân Anjuman," and may refer to "the colony at Sanjan of the Parsi settlers,

* Dr. Weat says :—The Parsis who inscribed their Pahlavi signatures at the Kanheri caves..... may have come from Sanjan." (Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Vol. p. 442.)

† In an important letter dated 3-6-1915 addressed to this Writer, Prof. S. H. Hodivala says:—"Peshotan's introduction to the Ganje Shâyegân is full of historical blunders. He seems to have read 1067 Samvat, not 1077. Besides he pretends that his manuscript was actually written in 627 A. Y. of which there is no proof. The date 627 is merely the date of the Paimânak-i-Katak Khutâik given on p. 141 of Beheramgore's Pahlavi Texts. The date conclusively shows that Meherpân translated his copy not from Dinpanah's copy (as Beheramgore says), but from his uncle Rustam Meherban's who was in India in the *Parsi* Year 627 (A. Y. 647), *i. e.* 1278 A. C., as is shown by the colophon of the Pahlavi Vispard he wrote in Anklesvar in that year.

As to your idea that 1077 Shake is the true date, there is this to be said that in all the other MSS. I am acquainted with (about four in number) the date is merely 77 *haftado haft*. T. D. is the only MS. in which it is *Yak-hazar-haftad-o-haft* and Maneckji Unwalla tells me that the MS. originally belonged to him and that he gave it to Mr. Tehemuras, and that the sign for *Yak-hazar* is written above and not in a line with *haftad-o-haft*. In fact it is one of the many interpolations by a later scribe of which this MS. is full . . . You say Mr. . . . takes it to be 977 Sâke. 977 Sâke would be 1058 A. C. i. e. not 824 A. Y. but 424 A. Y. Your 1077 Sâke would be 1155 A. C. and 524 A. Y. Is there any agrument for prefering 524 A. Y. to 424 A Y.? I at least know of none. But there is an argument for holding that 624 A. Y. is the true reading and that is based on the inference from the word *derzivat*. It is possible to hold that *derzivat* may mean something else, but I take it in the sense put upon by Beheramgore."

who had come from Khorasân." In our opinion the words were probably meant for the descendants of the original Parsi settlers. (B. B. R. A. S. XXIII, 349-70).

Close of 11th Century A.D.—Battle of Variav, which will be referred to hereafter.

Close of 11th Century A.D.—A Pahlavi manuscript of Vendidad (K 1 in the University Library of Kopenhagan) was copied in Sistan in A. D. 1205 by Ardeshir Bahman for an Indian priest named Mâhyâr, an inhabitant of Auchak in Sindh as we shall see hereafter. The head priest of that place was Shâhmard son of Mâhyâr son of Shâhzâd son of Mitrojiv.* The last name is equivalent to the modern Meherji. The termination *ji* is purely Indian; hence Mitrojiv must have lived in India about 1100 A. D. (See Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlavi Vendidad introd., p. 39.)

A. D. 1142—A mobed named Kamdin Zarthosht came to Nowsari from Sanjan for performing the religious ceremonies of the Parsis of Nowsari.†

A. D. 1153.—The Arab geographer Edrisi refers in his book to Sanjan and its inhabitants (Parsis?) "who were famous for their industry and intelligence, who were rich and war-like" (See Jaubert's Geographie d' Edrisi, p. 172).

A. D. 1166 (about)—Approximate date of Nerioshang Dhaval, who was the most learned of the old Parsi priests of India. His translation of the Pahlavi Yasna into Sanskrit is a convincing proof of his extensive knowledge of both the languages. He also translated some of the Khordeh Avesta into Sanskrit, and produced a Pazend Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi Minokherd. Nerioshang was the contemporary of Hormazdiar Râmyar (See Dr. West's reply re: Dastur Meherji Rana above referred to.) In S. B. E. Vol. XXIV introd. p. 20 Dr. West gave the 15th century A. D. as the date of Nerioshang, which was evidently incorrect).

12th Century A. D.—In this century the Parsis are said to have incited the Hindus against the Musalmans of Cambay and in a riot destroyed their mosque. This coming to the ears of Siddharâja Jayasimha, he supplied the means of rebuilding the mosque and minarets. (Elliot's Hist. II. 163-4).

A. D. 1205.—A Parsi priest named Mahyâr returned to Uchh in the Punjab with a Pahlavi Vendidad MS. after residing 6 years in Seistan.† (See Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlavi Vendidad, introd. pp. 36-40).

A. D. 1214.—Mobed Hom Bahmanyâr came from Broach to Nowsari in the Yazdagardi year 583 (See Dastur Meherji Rana and Emperor Akbar p. 286).†

A. D. 1257. (about)—A Mobed named Kâmdin Shahryâr Neryosang Samand wrote some manuscripts, one of which was Ayibâtkâr-i-Vazorg-Mitro. This Mobed was most probably the grand-father of Peshotan Râm Kâmdin Yaztyâr (="Shahryâr") ‡ Neriosang, Shahmart (or Gâyomard)§ (See Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Pahlavi Texts Introd. pp. 6-34).

A. D. 1250-1300.—Parsi and Nawâyat Musalmân refugees from

* In the colophon of the MS. of Pazend Jâmâspi written by Rânâ Jesung, father of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, it is stated that the writer wrote from a copy of Herbad Karyâ son of *Bikajiv* (Bhikâji. Vikâji). The MS. is dated Samvat 1560. See Dr. Modi's Parsis ot Court of Akbar p. 169.

† Parsi Prakash Vol. I p. 2.

* Prof. Westerguard, the Parsi Prakâsh and Dossabhoy Karaka give the date A. D. 1184. Hist. of Parsis I. p. 38.

† In the ભારસાય ર્રાણવલી the date is not correctly given. The Parsi Prakâsh gives A. D. 1215.

‡ The word might be read *Shatro-ayibâr* or *Yazt-ayibâr*,

§ The reading Samand might be a corruption of *Shahmart* or (*Gâyomart*),

Khulagu Khan's devastation of Persia came to Gujarat (Dr. G. A. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India Vol. IX, Part II, p. 324).

A. D. 1269.—An Iranian priest named Rustam Mihrapan came to India (Dastur Darab's Vendidad, introduction p. 41).

A. D. 1278.—Rustam Mihrapan wrote a Vispard at Ankleswar.

13th Century—Zakariya-al-Kazwini says that Chaul (now called Revadânda) was inhabited by a number of Parsis in the 13th century (B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII, p. 57).

A. D. 1303—Battle of Chitor in which the Parsis helped the Hindus by fighting with the Mahomedans under Ala-ud-Din. This battle forms the subject of the next chapter.

A. D. 1309.—A Dokhma was built at Broach by one Pestonji on the land of one Patel Dâbhai Medâsh on Jeth Sud 2 Samvat 1365 (Parsi Prakash I, p. 4).

A. D. 1322.—A French bishop named Jordanus, who travelled as a missionary from Thana to Broach in A. D. 1320-1322 wrote: "There be also other pagan-folk in this India, who worship fire ; they bury not their dead, neither do they burn them, but cast them into the midst of a certain roofless tower, and there expose them totally uncovered to the fowls of heaven. These believe in two First Principles, to wit, of Evil and of Good, of Darkness and of Light." (Jule's Jordanus' Mirabilia, p. 21).

A. D. 1323.—Odoric an Italian monk who came to Thana in 1323 said:—"The people thereof (Thana) are idolators, for they worship fire... .....and here they do not bury the dead, but carry them with great pomp to the fields, and cast them to the beasts and birds to be devoured." (C. H. Yule's Cathay Vol. I, p. 57-59).

A. D. 1323-24.—Mihrapan Kaikhusro great-grand-nephew of Rustam Mihrapan wrote two Pahlavi Yasnas, two Pahlavi Vendidads, and some other manuscripts for Chahal Sang of Cambay (Dastur Darab's Vendidad, introd. p. 41). Some of the MSS. were written in Thânâ (see Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts Intro. p. 6 and text pp. 83, 167-168).

A. D. 1383—A Pahlavi Nirang to kill noxious animals was written in 752 A. Y., the date being given in old Gujarati (Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts, Introd. p. 8, text p. 170.)

A. D. 1397—The manuscript M. 6 of the Bundehishna was written at Broach in A. Y. 766 by Peshotan Râm Kâmdin Sheheriar Nerioshang Shahmard Sheheriar Bahman Auramazdiâr Râmyâr. (S. B. E. Vol. V, introd. to Bundehishna. p. 48.)

Note:—Nerioshang Dhaval was a contemporary of Auramazdiâr Râmyâr. He lived 8 generations (8×25 years) before A. Y. 766, that is in A. D. 1197, which almost tallies with his date given above. Both Râm and Kâmdin were learned men. The latter was probably a pupil of Mihrapan Kaikhusro.

A. D. 1414.—About 26 Behedins of Bulsar signed an agreement to the effect that they had requested the Nowsari Anjuman to lend the services of the Mobed named Shapurji Rânâ for the performance of ceremonies. (Parsi Prakâsh I, p. 4).

A. D. 1415—Ervad Rânâ Kâmdin wrote a MS. containing Sanskrit and old Gujarati translations of the Iranian texts. (See Collected Sk. Writings of the Parsis Pt I. introd. p. VII.) The MS. belongs to Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji of Poona. It was written in A. Y. 784 corresponding to चतुर्दशशतेषु संवत्सरेषु.

This manuscript contains an important note about Sanskrit Ashirwâds, which runs thus :—इयं वैवाहस्य पद्धतीनां संस्कृतभाषायां पहिल्वीभाषाः दीनिदारु (दास) ब्रह्मनेन अवतारिता. "These marriage Ashirwâds have been translated

from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language by Dinidâru (dâsa) Bahman."

Another MS. belonging to Dastur Kaikhusro Jamaspji containing Avesta and Sanskrit translation was written not earlier than Samvat 1400; as in the Sk. Ashirwâda we meet with the phrase संवत्सरेषु चतुर्दशशतेषु. It must have been written before Samvat 1499 (A. D. 1443), but after Samvat 1400 (A. D. 1344).

A. D. 1419.—The Iranshâh Fire was brought to Nowsari on 26th June 1419 (Parsi Prakash, p 5). Khan Bahadur Bomanji B. Patel doubts the correctness of this date. The date given in the MS. of Ervad Hormazdiar Framarz dated A. D. 1660 is Samvat 1475 Maha Shehrivar, Roz Marespand, Akhad 5, Wednesday. (See Dr. J. J. Modi's Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan p. 23)

A. D. 1430.—A medical book was written in Sanskrit for the son of an Andhiaru named Ardeshir. About this book Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says:—In the class of works on Hindu medicine we have fragments of Charaka and Susruta Samhitas, and a copy of Vâgbhata's important work the Ashtânga-yoga-hridaya, which however is incomplete. The last MS. was caused to be transcribed in the Samvat year 1486 at Brigu-Kshetra or Broach by Ardhhasera (Ardeshir), who was a learned Adhyaru or priest of the Parsika race for his son to study This shows that about 450 years ago Parsi priests valued and cultivated the study of Sanskrit lore. The following is an extract from the book:— संवत् १४८६ वर्षे माघवदि १ गुरावद्येह श्रीभृगुक्षेत्रे पारसीकवंशप्रवीण आध्यारु श्री अर्द्धसेर-सुतस्याध्यायनाय कल्पसिद्धिस्थानमलीलिखत् । "On Mâgha Vad 1st in the year Samvat 1486, on this day, Thursday, here in Bhrigu Kshetra, the completion of the work (written) for the study of the son of the Adhyaru Ardeshir who is clever in the Parsi race, is written (by me)." (Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during 1882-83, pp. 35-36 and 221.)

A. D. 1450.—About the middle of the 15th century a king of Ahmadabad is said to have levied tribute from the Parsis of Chandauli (Chandravati) near Panch Mahals. (Burne's Account of Abu, 1828).

A. D. 1478.—The date of the earliest known Revayat brought by Nariman Hoshang. Eight years afterwards, he brought another Revayat from Iran.*

* Darab Hamaziar's Revayat, Bombay University MS. Vol. I. pp. 11, 13, See also Dr. Modi's Parsis at the Court of Akbar, pp. 53-54.

CHAPTER No. 8.

Battle of Sanjan.

Let us now consider another important event in the history of the Parsis which is referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. We are told that seven hundred years after the arrival of the Parsis to India, a calamity came over them. The kingdom of the Hindu Râjâ of Sanjan was invaded by the Mahomedans under Alafkhan, the general of Sultan Mahomed. The Râjâ called his Parsi subjects to help him. Under the leadership of one Ardeshir, an army of 1,400 Parsis fought with the Mahomedans and defeated them. Alafkhan then came with very large numbers. A second battle was fought, in which all the Parsis and the Hindu Râjâ were killed.

Now the question as to who the Sultan Mahomed and his general Alafkhan were, has been the subject of keen controversy for many years past. Dastur Frâmji Aspandiarji Rabâdi, Dr. John Wilson, and Mr. Dossabhoy Karaka* thought that the Sultan was Mahmod Begda (A. D. 1459-1511). This theory has in our times secured the support of Dr. J. J. Modi, Prof. Hodivala and others.

Not being satisfied with this theory Sir James Campbell, the compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer, suggested another theory, namely that the Mahomedan ruler was Muhammad Shah or Ala-ud-din Khilji (A.D 1297-1317). He said:—"The conqueror cannot be Mahomed Begda, as authorities agree that after long wanderings the Sanjan fire was brought to Nowsari early in the 15th century (A. D. 1419).† Alafkhân may be Ulughkhân, Ala-ud-din's brother, who is sometimes by mistake called Alpkhân,* or he may be Alpkhân, Ala-ud-din's brother-in-law. Ulughkhan conquered Gujarat (A. D. 1295-1297), and Alpkhan governed Gujarat (A. D. 1300-1320)." (Bombay Gaz. XIII, pt. I, p 250). This theory was followed by Mr. Dossabhoy Karaka, who changed his former view. (Hist. of Parsis, 2nd ed., p. 43) It has been accepted in our own times by Mr. Pallonji Desai, and others.

Sanskrit Inscriptions.

Scholars have thrown considerable light on the history of Ala-ud-din Khilji and Mahomed Begda. They have shown that Begda's conquests extended as far as Bassein, Mahim and even further in the South. Some have also stated that Ala-ud-din's conquests did not extend as far as Sanjan. † But it must be acknowledged, that in spite of all their efforts they have not come across a single *direct* historical reference, showing that a battle was fought at Sanjan by the Parsis with the Mahomedans. There is however a Sanskrit epigraphic record, which, if correctly interpreted, shows that the Parsis fought with the Mohamedans under Ala-ud-din at Chitor on behalf of the Hindu râjâ of the place. If this is the battle which the writer of the Kisseh i-Sanjan referred to, we are compelled to say that he has made a muddle by confounding the location of the battle-field. If on the other hand the battle of Sanjan was different, Bahman was grossly ignorant about an

* Hâdisânâmâ pp. 122, 129, B. B. R. A. S. I-182, Hist. of Parsis 1858 p. 16.

† Mistake for A. D. 1416 (Dr. J. J. Modi's Few Events in Parsi Hist. p. 64).

* Elliot's Hist. of India III, 548.

† See Dr. J. J. Modi's "A Few Events in Parsi History p. 65) In A. D. 1297 Aluf Khan, Ala-ud-Din's brother, was sent with an army to reduce Gujarat. (Brigg's Hist. of the Rise of Mahomedan Power I. p. 327), and according to Abul Feda, Sanjan was the last town in Gujarat (Elliot V, Dawson I. 403). In A. D. 1312 an army was sent to the Deccan under Mullik Kafoor who laid waste the countries of Maharashtra and Canara from Dabul to Choule, as far as Rachoor and Moodkul (Brigg's His. I. p. 379). Thus Sanjan may have been included in the conquests.

important event in the history of the Parsis. We admit that it is quite possible that the raids of Begda, which extended as far as Bassein, Mahim and Chaul, may have scared away the Parsis (if any) from their old colonies at Sanjan and neighbouring places, but from that we cannot infer that the Parsis fought with the Mohamedans at Sanjan.

A collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions has been published by the Bhavnagar Archæological Department under the auspices of His Highness Raol Shri Takhtsingji, Mahârâjâ of Bhâvnagar. It contains a number of important Sanskrit inscriptions. One of them No. IX is a stone inscription placed at Udepur in Mewâr in the temple of Ekalingaji, the tutelary god of the Sisodia kings of Mewâr dated Samvat 1545 (A. D. 1489), published on pp. 117 to 133 in the aforesaid book. It contains about a hundred Sanskrit Shlokas and gives an account of the different gifts of villages by the kings of Chitor for the maintenance of the temple. The verses Nos. 18 to 20 run as under :—

No. 18 कति कति न बभूवुर्भोजखुम्माणमुख्या
रणभरनिरपाये बाष्पभूपान्ववाये ।
तदपि समुपनीतामंदसंपत्समूहः
समभवदीरिंसिह : केवलं वीतमोह : ॥

No. 19 चित्रदुर्गगिरि-दुर्गरक्षणे स क्षणेन विरचनमहारणे ।
जीवितं परिजहार नोर्ज्जितं वीरवर्त्मनि समर्ज्जितं यश : ॥

No. 20 नरपतिररिसिंह : पारसीकैः समीकं यदयम् अभयचित्तश्चित्रकूटे चकार ।
असुकुसुमसमुहैरेनमानर्च्च चासाविति हितरतिरेतद्वंशजान्नोजहाति ॥

The above Shlokas are thus translated in the book :—

(No. 18)—" There were many kings like Bhoja, Khummâna and others in the time of Bâshpa, never flinching in battle; still one deserves mention, *viz.* Arisimha, who acquired great prosperity and was totally free from all sensual pleasures. ' (No. 19)—" He (Arisimha) fighting great battle for protecting mount Chitrakuta abandoned life in a moment, but not the great fame acquired in the path of brave men. " (No. 20)—" As this Arisimha, who possessed a dauntless heart, fought with the Parsis, and worshipped Shankar with the flowers of the lives of the dead, his descendants are not abandoned by him (Shankar)."

Further up in verse No. 21 we are told, that " He (Arisimha) was succeeded by the sun-like Hamira." We may mention, that in verse No. 20 the translator has omitted to translate the word चित्रकुटे, which shows, that the battle was fought at Chitrakuta * or Chitor.

Battle of Variav.

Let us for a moment accept the translation of the verse No. 20, as it is given in the book. It seems as if the Hindu king fought with the Parsis, killing many of them. Now we know with certainty about only one battle, which the Parsis fought with a Hindu Râjâ, and that was the battle of Variav. Two slightly different accounts of this battle are met with. The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer gives the following account :—

" Towards the close of the 11th century, Parsis were one of the chief classes of traders in Cambay. It is stated, that the Parsi settlers enraged the Rajput chief of Ratanpur by refusing to pay tribute and defeating a body of troops sent to enforce the order. When a fresh force arrived from Ratanpur, the Parsi men were absent at a feast outside the limits of Variav, but the women donned the armour of their husbands and relations and opposed the troops valiently. When about to obtain a victory, the helmet of one of the female warriors dropped and exposed her dishelled hair. On this the Ratanpur force rallied, and made a

* Chitrakuta= Chitod (Bom. Gaz. I Pt. I p. 469.)

desperate assault. The women preferring death to dishonour heroically drowned themselves. The day of this disaster (Fravardin month and Arshishvang roz) is still commemorated at Surat by special religious ceremonies. The year is unknown. (Bom. Gaz. IX pt. II, p. 185 ff).

Mr. Dossabhoy Karaka relates the story thus:—"A small Parsi colony had settled at Variav, which is situated at some distance from Surat. It was at the time under the rule of the Râjâ of Ratanpur, a Rajput chief. This chief attempted to exact an extraordinary tribute from the Parsis, but the latter refusing to submit to the extortion, opposed and defeated the troops sent to enforce the demand. Unable to avenge themselves openly, the soldiers of the Râjâ sought an opportunity of supressing those, who had defeated them in the field, and a marriage festival, to which all the Parsis in the place had been invited was chosen as affording the most favourable occasion for gratifying their cowardly revenge. Unconscious of what was impending, the Parsis were surprised in the midst of festivities, and together with the women and children were ruthlessly massacred by the ruffians." (Hist. of Parsis 1884, Vol. I, p. 49).

It is easy to see that this could not be the same as the battle of Chitor in the inscription, according to which the Hindu king was killed in the battle. Also in verse No. 8 of the stone inscription No. VI, dated A. D. 1429 (page 102, Collections by Bhavnagar State) it is stated that:—

नरपतिररिसिंह: शस्त्रशास्त्रोपदेष्टा वितरण-
रणकर्णो विश्वविख्यातवर्ण: ।
स्फुरदमलगुणौघ: पुण्यपुण्योक्ष (गण्याग्र नामा)
नयविनयविवेकोद्यानपुंस्कोकिल: सन् ॥

"Arisimha was a king who was master of the art of using arms, who was like Karna in making gifts and in battle fields, whose greatness was known throughout the world, who possessed bright *pure virtues*, whose great name was worthy of being included in the first rank of the *meritorious*, and who was like a male Kokila (bird) in the gardens of *justice, modesty and politeness*."

Such a virtuous, meritorious, just, modest and polite king could hardly be expected to order violence referred to in the stories of the battle of Variav. Indeed such a cruel act would hardly be suitable for any inscription.

Annals of Rajasthan.

Again turning to Colonel Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I. (p. 215) we find, that Ursi (a short form of the name of Arisimha) was killed in the war with Ala-ud-din in or about 1303 A. D. Therefore the battle at Chitor was not fought with the Parsis, unless they assisted the Mahomedans, proving treacherous to their kind Hindu masters—a thing inconceivable in itself and for the reason that Ala's troops were never in need of any help.

Parsis and Kings of Mewar.

One further point, which has been already referred to, requires notice, namely that the Rânâs of Mewar were traditionally connected with the Sassanian kings of Persia. In support of the tradition Abul Fazl (A. D. 1590) says, that the Rânâs of Mewar consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Naushirvan, (A. D. 531-579), and Col. Tod quotes fuller details from the Persian history Maaser-al-Umra. No evidence seems to support a direct connection with Naushirvan. At the same time marriage between the Valabhi chief and Maha Banu, the fugitive daughter of Yazdagard the last Sassanian is not impossible. The suggestion that the link may be Naushirvan's son Naushizad, who fled from his father in A. D. 570 receives support from the statement

of Procopius. According to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer, the fire symbols on Mewar coins betray a more direct Sassanian influence. (Tod's Annals I, 235; Bom. Gaz. I. pt. I. p. 102).

From this we would at least expect that the Parsis were on good terms with the kings of Mewar.

Correct Translation of Inscription.

For all the above reasons, we are convinced that the translation of the verse No. 20 referred to above is not satisfactory, or at any rate it is *vague*. The reason is not far to seek. The translator did not care to consider the surrounding circumstances.

In Sanskrit the instrumental* case, when it is not followed by some such words as समं, सह, &c. conveys two senses—namely "with" and "by" or "assisted by." The Râjâ did not fight the Parsis, but he fought (with the Mahomedans) "assisted by the Parsis." We therefore translate the verses Nos. 19 and 20 as under:—

"While great battles were being fought for the protection of the fort on the mount Chitrakuta, he Arisimha abandoned his life in a moment, but not the great fame acquired in the path of brave men. As this Arisimha who possessed a dauntless heart, fought a battle (assisted by) the Parsis at Chitrakuta and worshipped him (Shankara) with the numerous flowers of the lives of the enemies, he (Shankara) being fondly attached does not abandon his (Arisimha's) descendants."

The writer uses a highly poetic style. Shankara or Shiva is the third god of the Hindu trinity, who is entrusted with the work of destruction. Arisimha worshipped him not with ordinary flowers, but flowers in the shape of the lives of the enemies. The enemies have not been named, either because the writer wanted to show his contempt and hatred or because they were so well known at the time that it was not necessary to name them.* The Râna's bravery met with its proper reward, namely that his line did not become extinct.

Could Parasikas be Mahomedans?

As already stated, it is possible that the Sanskrit passage in question may be explained to mean, that the Parsis helped the Mohamedans against the Hindus. That the Parsis would help a cruel and lustful emperor like Ala-ud-din, who had a large army of his own, is simply inconceivable. They would be the last to prove faithless and treacherous to the kind Rânâs of Mewâr.

It would be ridiculous to urge that the word Pârasikas may have been used for the Mahomedans. The word has been used by the Sanskrit writers for *Parsis* only. For instance, in the sixteen Sanskrit Shlokas, we read about the Parasikas in several places:— गौराः धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः। "Those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant and very strong."

Also in the Ashtânga-yoga-hrdaya, we have just read:- संवत् १४८५ वर्षे माघवदि १ गुरावद्येह श्रीभृगुक्षेत्रे पारसीक-वंश प्रवीण-आध्यरु श्री अर्द्देशेर (रः ?) सुतस्या ध्यायनाय कल्पसिद्धिस्थानं अलीलिखत्।

"On Mâgha Vad 1st of the Samvat 1486 (A. D. 1430) on this day Thursday Ardeshir a well-versed priest in a Parasika family caused the book to be written for the study of

* The instrumental denotes the instrument by which a thing is accomplished. Here the Parsis were employed as an instrument for the fight. Compare Raghu Vamsa VII-59 for construction and meaning.

* Inscription No. VIII (dated A.D. 1440) of the Bhavnagar State Collection shows that Bhuvanasinha fought with Ala-ud-din and conquered him.

his son here in Bhrigu-Kshetra." (Report on the search of Sk. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during 1882-83 by R. G. Bhandarkar, pp. 35-36 and 221).

It will be noted that in the above passage the word पारसीक was used for the *Parsi* only about half a century before the date of the inscription.

Even in A. D. 1906 Ervad Sheheriarji Bharucha calls his "Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis" पारसीकधर्मादि-विषयक-संस्कृत-पुस्तक-संग्रह: Many more instances might be cited to show that the *Pârasikas* meant the *Parsis* and none else.*

Moreover in the inscriptions relating to the kings of Mewar, the word used for the Mahomedan enemies is *Turushkas* or Turks (See Bhavnagar State Inscriptions, pp. 94-107).

Parsis not on good terms with Mahomedans.

It is needless to say, that the Parsis of olden times were not on friendly terms with the Mahomedans. In the 12th century A. D. mention has been made of the Parsi and Musalman riots in Cambay. One of the Musalmans, whose faction was worsted made his way to Anhilvâda, and meeting the Châlukya king Sidhrâj Jaysing (A. D. 1094-1143), complained to him that the Parsis and Hindus had attacked the Musalmans, killed eighty of them, and destroyed their mosque and minaret. Subsequently the king heard enough to convince him, that the Musalmans had been badly used. He summoned to his capital Anhilvâda two leading men from each class of the people of Cambay, Brâhmans, Fire-worshippers and others (Jains) and ordered them to be punished. At the time he made over to the Musalmans money enough to rebuild their Mosque and towers! (Elliot's Hist. II, 162-164, Bom. Gaz. VI, 215).

Parsis Spoken of Contemptuously by Amir Khusru.

The following passage from the poem Ashika of Amir Khusru is important, as showing that the Parsis were treated with contempt by the Mahomedan rulers of the time.

In his encomium on Hindustan, the poet says:—"From Gazni to the shore of the ocean you see all under the Dominion of Islâm. Cawing crows (crow-like Hindus) see no arrows pointed at them; nor is the *Tarsâ* (Christian) there, who does not fear (*taras*) to render the servant equal with God, nor the Jew who dares to exalt the Pentateuch to a level with the Korân; nor the *Magh* who is delighted with the worship of fire, but of whom the fire complains with its hundred tongues." (Elliot's Hist. III, p. 546).

As the writer of Bombay Gazetteer says, the above-said Maghs were the Parsis. * The above passage clearly shows that the Parsis were contemptuously treated by the Turks at the time. Evidently the poet wrote the passage, after all the nations had been reduced and made subject to the rule of Ala-ud-din. Supposing therefore that the Parsis helped Ala-ud din, we can hardly expect the poet who had accompanied Ala-ud-din at Chitor to speak about them in such contemptuous terms—namely that "the fire complained about the Parsis with its hundred tongues." (Elliot's Hist. III, p. 77 ff).

History of Mewar Kings and Conquest of Ala-ud-din.

The Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthân by Col. Tod contain a long account of the kings of Mewâr. The chapters IV to VI deal with the sovereigns from Bappa to Samarsi.

* In the Pahlavi Text (Darakht-i-Asurik) the Pahlavi word *Parsik* is used for "Parsi" (See Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji's Pahlavi text, p. 111, line 1st, word 6th).

* Magh=Maghu, Mobed.

After Samarsi, Rahup * obtained Chitor in A. D. 1201. From Rahup to Lakumsi, in the short space of half a century, nine princes of Chitor were crowned. Lakumsi succeeded his father in A. D. 1275. Bhimsi was the uncle of the young prince and protector during his minority. He had married the beautiful and accomplished lady Padmani. Ala-ud-din heard about this beautiful princess and he determined to march an army against Chitor. In course of time the Afghans reached Chitor. The Rajputs locked themselves in their rocky fortress. For a long time the fortress was besieged, but all in vain. Ala-ud-din at last sent a message to Bhimsi, that if he would allow him to see the image of his wife in a mirror, he would be satisfied and go away. The Rajput could see no harm in this. Ala-ud-din, unarmed, entered the fortress and saw the image, as he had desired. Ala-ud-din had shown his confidence in the honour of the Rajputs by entering their fortress alone. Bhimsi, to show confidence in the honour of the Turks walked also unarmed into their camp. But the crafty Ala-ud-din had prepared an ambush for the Rajput prince. Bhimsi was seized and carried away. Ala-ud-din now offered to deliver their prince to the Rajputs, if they would deliver Pâdmani to him. Great was the rage of the Rajputs at this dishonourable act. Padmani was informed of this, and together they thought of a scheme. The princess sent word to Ala-ud-din that she would come to his camp, accompanied by all her handmaids in a manner befitting a princess. Ala-ud-din agreed to this, and no less than 700 palanquins were carried into the royal camp. One of them contained the queen, in the others were hidden bravest warriors of Chitor. Ala-ud-din had no intention of delivering up Bhimsi, but he was outwitted this time. No sooner was Bhimsi brought forward than the Rajputs leapt from the litters surrounded their prince and princess and cut their way in a body through the Turk warriors to their fortress. The siege was renewed by the Turks. Many brave Rajputs were slain, after making a havoc in Ala-ud-din's ranks. Ala-ud-din was defeated in his object and was obliged to desist from the enterprise for a short time. Having recruited his strength, he again attacked Chitor. The annals state this to have been in A. D. 1290, but Ferishta gives the date 13 years later. The Râna (Lakumsi) became anxious for the safety of his crown. During a night of watchful anxiety, he slept on his pallet, pondering on the means, by which he might preserve from the general destruction one at least of his twelve sons. A voice broke on his solitude exclaiming *myn bhooka ho* (I am hungry), and raising his eyes, he saw the majestic form of the guardian goddess of Chitor. "Not satiated," exclaimed the Râna, 'though eight thousand of my kin were late an offering to thee."? "I must have regal victims, and if twelve, who wear the diadem, bleed not for Chitor, the land will pass from the line." Thus said, she vanished. On the second day she appeared again and said "On each day enthrone a prince.....for three days, let his decrees be supreme. On the fourth day let him meet the foe and his fate. Then only may I remain." (Annals of Rajasthan I, 214-15, also Index). A general contention arose among the brave brothers, who should be the first victim to avert the denunciation. Ursi urged his priority of birth. He was proclaimed, the umbrella waved over his head, and on the fourth day, he surrendered his short-lived honours and his life. Ajeysi the next in birth demanded to follow, but he was the favourite son of his father and at his request he consented to let his brothers precede him. Eleven had fallen in turn, but one victim re-

* He changed the title of his family from the clan name of Gehlot to the Subdivisional name Sesodia (Gaz. India XIII, 403).

mained to the salvation of the city. A contest arose between the Rânâ and his surviving son, but the father prevailed, and Ajeysi in obedience to his commands, with a small band, passed through the enemy's lines and reached Kailwarra in safety. The queens, wives, daughters and the fair Padmani all immolated themselves in a funeral pyre. The Rânâ threw open the portals, and with a reckless despair carried death and met it in the crowded ranks of Ala-ud-din. Thus fell in A. D. 1303 this celebrated capital of Chitor in the conquest of Ala.....Guarded by faithful adherents Ajeysi cherished for future occasion, the wrecks of Mewar. It was the behest of his father, that after him the son of Ursi, the elder brother should succeed him. This injunction met a ready compliance. Hammir was the son destined to redeem Chitor. (Annals of Râjasthân, pp. 212-217).

Another Inscription.

Now turning to the Sanskrit inscriptions in the Bhavnagar collection we see that there is a complete geneology of the Mewâr kings in the inscription No. VIII of A. D, 1440. It mentions 41 kings, beginning with Bappa. Leaving the first 29 kings, it is seen that the 30th king was Tejasvi-simha, 31st Samarsimha, 32nd Bhuvanasimha, who is called श्रीअल्लावदीनसुरत्राणजैत्रवप्पवंश्य : (the descendant of Bappa and the conqueror of Shri Alla-ud-din Sultân), 33rd Jayasimha, 34th Lakshmasimha, 35th Ajayasimha, 36th his brother *Arisimha*, and 37th Hammir.

It will be seen that Bhuvanasimha was Bhimsi, since the name Bhuvanasimha would be contracted into *Bhûmsi* and then corrupted into *Bhimsi*. We have already seen that Ala-ud-din became unsuccessful in his first attack of Chitor, which was resisted by the Rajputs under Bhimsi. Arisimha was undoubtedly Ursi. In the inscription No. V, Samarsimha is said to have rescued the submerged *land of Gurjara from the ocean-like Turushkas or Turks*. From Tod's Annals we saw that Arisimha (Ursi) was the father of Hammir and brother of Ajeysi. It was he who "urged his priority of birth and was proclaimed king, and on the fourth day he surrendered his short-lived honours and his life," while fighting with Ala-ud-din's troops. The author of the inscription rightly says that "he possessed a dauntless heart," and that in the great battle of Chitor "he abandoned life in a moment, but not the great fame acquired in the path of brave men." It was this Arisimha or Ursi whom the Pârasikas assisted in the fight.

Campbell on the Battle fought by Parsis.

The fact that the Parsis helped the Hindus in the fight with Ala-ud-din has been long since pointed out by Sir James Campbell, but he too had not the battle of Chitor in his mind. He says :—"Dr. Wilson (B. B. R. A. S. I-182) suggested, that the Mahmud Shâh of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan was Mahmud Begda, who reigned in Gujarat from A. D. 1459 to 1513. The mention of Châmpâner as his capital makes it probable that the author of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan thought, that the Musalman prince was the well-known Mahmud Begda. But the completeness of Alp Khan's conquest of Gujarat leaves little doubt, that Sanjan fell to his arms. The conqueror might possibly, though much less likely, be Muhammad Shâh Tughlik, who reconquered Gujarat and the Thana coast in A. D. 1348. It cannot be Mahmud Begda, as authorities agree that after long wanderings, the Sanjan fire was brought to Nowsâri in the fifteenth century (1419). Alp Khân may be Ulugh Khân, brother to Ala-ud-din, who is sometimes by mistake called Alp Khân, or he may be Alp Khân brother-in-law to Ala-ud-din. Ulugh Khân conquered Gujarat (1295-1297) and Alp Khân governed Gujarat

(1300-1320). The Alp Khân of the text was probably Ulugh Khan. (Elliot III, 157-163). Neither Farishtah nor the Ferozshâhi has any reference to the Parsis. But Amir Khusru's (A. D. 1300) phrase "*The shores of the Gujarat sea were filled with the blood of the Gabrs*" (Elliot III 549) almost certainly refers to or at least includes Parsis, as he notices in another passage (Elliot III-546), that among those, who had become subject to Islam were the Maghs, who delighted in the worship of fire." (Bom. Gaz. Population, p. 187.)

Who were Gabrs?

Now the question is whether the Gabrs referred to above were Parsis. In Elliot's History of India Vol. III in the appendix, there is given an *abstract* of the poem named Asika of Amir Khusru. It is a kind of epic or historical poem, having for its main subject the loves of Dewal Râni, daughter of the Rai of Gujarat and Khizar Khan, eldest son of Sultan Ala-ud-din. Under the heading "Conquest of Gujarat, Chitor, Mâlwa, Siwana" we read as under :—

"The poet passes to the conquest of Ala-ud-din in Hindustan. Ulugh Khân sent against the Rai of Gujarat 'where the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of Gabrs.' The conquest of Somnath, Jhain and Ranthambor whose ruler was Pithu Râi. This fort was two weeks' journey distant from Delhi and its walls extended for three *parasangs*. Terrible stones were sent against them with such force, that the battlements were levelled with the dust. So many stones were thrown, pile upon pile, that it would have taken thirty years to clear the road to one of the gates. The king took the Fort in one month, and made it over to Ulugh Khân. The conquest of Chitor, which was named Khizrâbâd after Khizr Khan (is then referred to).....After that the king's attention was directed towards the South."

Further up under the heading "the conquest of Telingava, Mabar, Fatan" we read :— "There was another *rai* in those parts.....named Pandyâ Guru.....His capital was Fatan, where there was a temple with an idol in it laden with jewels. He had many troops and ships; and Mussalmans and Hindus were in his service.....The rai, when the army of the Sultan arrived at Fatan, fled away.....The Mussalmans in his service sought protection from the king's army.....They then struck the idol with an iron hatchet and opened its head. Although it was the very *kibla* of the *accursed Gabrs*, it kissed the earth and filled the holy treasury. (Eliot's Hist. III, pp. 549-551).

It will be clearly seen that the word Gabrs* is used for the Hindus in the last passage. Besides we see that the conquest of Gujarat took place in A. D. 1297, that of Rutunbhore in A. D. 1299, whereas the battle of Chitor was fought in A. D. 1303 (Brigg's Hist. I, pp. 327, 337, 353-4). Therefore the Parsis who fought for the Râna of Chitor could not be the Gabrs referred to by Amir Khusru.

We must also bear in mind that Ala-ud-din sent Alp Khan (his brother) to conquer Gujarat and also Rutunbhore; but he himself marched towards Chitor, which was reduced after a siege of six months (Brigg's Hist. I, pp. 327, 337, 353).

Mahmud Begda Fought at Barot.

From the accounts given in th Tarikh-i-Ferista, Tabakat-i-Akbai Tarikh-i-Alfi and Mirat-i-Sikandai our learned friend Prof. Hodiva has pointed out, that in A. H. 86 (A. D. 1465) Sultan Mahomd Begda fought a battle with a Hind râjâ at Bârad or Bârot Hill, othe

* Cf :—Sutal Deo, a Gabr was the râjâ Siwana, near Delhi. Gabrs were worshippe of stones and stone cows (Elliot III, pp. 7 83, 511).

wise known as Sanjan Peak or St. John's Point, situated about fourteen miles South of Sanjan. He has also shown, that the expedition against Sanjan must have taken place before A. D. 1478, since no notice is taken of the Parsis of Sanjan in Nariman Hoshang's two Revayats, the first of which was written in A. D. 1478, and that therefore the Parsis of Sanjan were driven from their homes before that date. * As he observes, this last point goes decidedly against Dr. Jivanji Modi's surmise of the battle having been fought in A. D. 1490.

Are we then to understand that the battle of Bârot was the battle referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan? All the historical accounts agree in stating, that after reducing the fortress, the Sultan restored the country to the Râjâ on receipt of tribute. The Râjâ was thus alive after the battle, whereas according to the Kisseh he was killed. Prof. Hodivala had also seen the difficulty and was therefore constrained to remark as under:—"We must suppose the râjâ of Bârot to have been a different person altogether from the chief of Sanjan; for, the Kisseh represents the latter to have been slain in the last day's battle." This is, we submit, an unwarrantable supposition. We think, that the fact of the râjâ being killed in the battle and the fact of the Parsis having fought for him are the essential parts of the story, and any account which fails or omits to take notice of these points must be condemned as irrelevant. We are therefore compelled to think, that the theory of Mahomed Begda having fought with the Parsis at Sanjan must be abandoned.

Conclusion.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan states that the general of the Sultan, who fought with the Parsis was named Alp Khan. Men of that name served as generals in the armies both of Mahomed Begda and Ala-ud-din Khilji, but no specific mention is to be found in the accounts of the battle of Bârot or of the battle of Chitor, we have referred to. It appears, that facts belonging to different conditions of things are jumbled together by the writer of the Kisseh. He is quite correct when he says, that Mahmud Sultan or rather Muhammad Sultan fought a battle with the Parsis, who helped the Hindu râjâ, and that the latter was killed in the fight; but he has wrongly located the battle at Sanjan, wrongly hinted that this Mahomed was the victor of Châmpâner and wrongly supposed that the Sultan's general took an active part in the battle. We fully concur with Prof. Hodivala, who says:—"Nothing, indeed, can be a greater error than to suppose that Bahman was a great poet, a serious historian or a man of multifarious and accurate scholarship. At the same time, he was not an ordinary man. He belonged to a family possessing remarkable literary aptitudes.....and it would be folly to suppose, that all his statements are unworthy of credit. But it must be also recognised that he is occasionally out of his depth."

* See Bom. Gaz. Pt. II, p. 189.

CHAPTER No. 9.

DATE OF THE 16 SANSKRIT SHLOKAS.

Passages in the Sanskrit Shlokas referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan.

The writer of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan had evidently knowledge of the contents of the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas, * supposed to have been recited before the king Jadi Rana by the Parsi refugees from Iran. Whether he knew Sanskrit or whether he relied upon a translation while giving a summary of some Shlokas, we do not know. But we are inclined to think that he had a smattering of Sanskrit. The Shlokas referred to are found in the Couplets No. 165 and 168 to 181 of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. We shall see what passages of the Shlokas are referred to:—

Yakin dâni ke mâ Yazdân-parastim.

"Know for certain that we are worshippers of Yazdan." This is taken from *the Shloka No.* 1 श्री होर्मिज्दं सुरेशं (or महेशं) ध्यायंति ये वै "Who (that is to say) the Parsis—worship Ahuramazda the lord of the Angels (or the Great Lord)".

Couplets Nos. 168-169:—

. . . . . .

Adab dârim az mahtâb o khurshid;
Sedigar gâo râ bâ âb o âtash,
Niku midârimash az har sefâtash.

"We revere the Moon and the Sun, thirdly we esteem the cow, water and fire on account of their good qualities."

The fact that the Parsis revered the Sun, fire and water is referred to in the Shlokas No. I and XII; reverence to the moon is referred to in the Shlokas No. XI and XII, and that to the cow in Shloka No. II, The phrase "on account of their good qualities" is important. It is an effort to translate बहुगुणगरिमाणं in Shloka No. 1, on the part of Bahman, the writer of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan wrongly taking it as an adjunct of सूर्यम्, हुतवहं and तोयं each one separately. As a matter of fact the phrase is an adjunct of Hormazd.

Couplet No. 170:—

Parastesh mikunim az âtash o âb,
Hamân az gâo o az khurshid o mahtâb.

"We worship fire and water, also the cow, the Sun and the Moon." We might well ask why the worship of the fire, water &c. has been referred to once again. The reason is that the worship of the sun, moon, fire and water is, as seen above, referred to in two places in the Shlokas. The reverence to the cow is referred to in one place only; although it is indirectly referred to in Shloka No. XIV in which there is the expression पशुममि सहसा हन्ति. The commentator takes पशु to mean "धेनु (cow), वृषभ (ox) &c."

Couplet No. 171:—

Khudâ dar dehad har chiz âfridast,
Nemâzash mi barim u khud guzidast.

"Whatever God has created in the world, we pray to since He Himself has approved of it." Besides fire, water, cow, sun and moon, the Shloka No. I mentions wind, earth and sky, which are referred to in the passage: "Whatever God has created in the world" by the author of the Kisseh. The expression "since He Himsself has approved of it" is, we think, an attempt to translate the words तमेकं कृपालुं in Shloka No. I.

Couplet No. 172:—

Hamân kusti mâ haftâd o du târ,
Ba-bandim o bakhwâbim bâdil abrâr.

"This kusti of ours, with 72 threads, we bind and we sleep with a pure heart." The first half of the couplet corresponds with धनगुणरचितां मेखलां धारयन्ति in Shloka XIII: "Who

* These Shlokas have been edited by us in Rustom Paymaster's Kisseh-i-Sanjan and also in Dastur Hoshang Memorial Voiume.

put on the sacred girdle, which is made of many threads." The second half of the verse has its original in the Shloka VII, where we read मुद्राब्राह्मं न निद्रा जपनवमनसा "without the girdle there is no sleep with fresh mind —in other words, with the girdle there is sleep with pure mind." Bahman the author of the Kisseh has omitted the translation of the word जप.

Couplets Nos. 173-174 :—

Zanânhâi ke dar dashtân nashinand,
BaKhurshid o samâ o meh na binand.
Ham az âb o ham az âtash bud dur,
Azirâkân bud az khwastah nur.

"The women, who sit (apart) in monthly course, do not look to the sun, the sky and the moon. They keep at a distance from water and fire, since these things are of the essence of light." In Shloka No. XI Bahman seems to have read about women giving birth to children thus:— ध्यायन्ते नैव नित्यं मरुदनलधरातोयचंद्रार्कयज्दान्। येषां वर्णो न हीनः। And he takes this passage in connection with ऋतुसमयदिनाः in verse No. IX. Taking ध्यै in the sense of "seeing" and मरुत् to mean "windy sky," Bahman tries to render the passage as under :— "Women in monthly course do not see the sky, fire, earth (this word is omitted), water, the moon, and the sun " &c. येषां वर्णो न हीनः is taken with चंद्रार्कयज्दान् through misapprehension and is rendered thus :— "Whose वर्ण (colour, *that is* light) is not inferior." This is the reading of P. S.,* which may well be supposed to have been consulted by the author of the Kisseh.

Couplet No. 175 :—

Za har chiz mikunand parhiz bisiyâr,
Ba ruz rushna o andar shab târ.

They carefully abstain from all things, during the light of day-time and the darkness of night." Here Bahman endeavours to translate the two words सततं अभियता : taking them with the women above-mentioned. (See Shloka No. XI). The words are taken to mean :— "They are always (*i.e.* day and night) under restraint."

Couplet No, 176 :—

Nashinad tâ ke zu dashtân shud dur,
Chu shuyad sar ba-binad âtash o hur.

"So long as the menses disappear they sit (apart) and when they wash their heads, they see fire and the sun." This couplet has been prepared from the following Sanskrit passages :—

(1) स्वपिति महिधराशाय्यहो पुष्पनारी (Shloka No. X.) "*The woman in menses sits apart on the earth.*"

(2) जपविधिनिरता स्नानसूर्यार्चनेषु (Shloka XI). "Who are engaged in silent prayers while worshipping *the sun* after ablution."

(3) अग्निश्चिन्त्यः (Shloka X) "Fire is to be worshipped." This last expression in Shloka No. X is torn from its context and applied to the women in menses. As a matter of fact, it is meant to be applicable to men.

Couplets Nos. 177-178 :—

Digar ân zan kc u farzand zâyad,
Chehal ruzash hami parhiz bâyad.
Chunân parhiz shâyad chun ke dâshtan.
Na parhiz shâyad khwâr hastân.

"Again the woman who begets a child must remain apart for 40 days. She must abstain herself just as when she was in menses; if she does not do so, the things (she touches) become polluted." These couplets are the translation of the first two lines of Shloka No. IX, येषामेवांगना या ऋतुसमयदिनाः ..... पूताः सूताश्च मासे प्रसवनसमयाद् देहशुद्धास्तथैव ।

In this Shloka there are two statements, one as regards women in menses and another regarding women who give delivery. Bahman omits the words सप्तरात्रौ भवेयुः and puts in some such word as इव after

* Pârsi Smriti. This was an old and important manuscript.

ऋतुसमयदिनाः ..... He translates the Sanskrit passage thus:—"Their women who beget children become pure after a month from the time of delivery; they (sit apart) like women who are in menses; they thus become pure in body." Aspandiarji, Drummond and all Gujarati translators assume that females become pure after 40 days after delivery. That seems to be the old custom as we read in the Shloka XI, but the Sanskrit text here speaks of one month only.

Couplets No. 179-181:—

Za zan farzand andak mi ke àyad,
Az ân farzand ku murdah ba-zàyad,
Na har jâi ravad yà u batàzad,
Abà kas gofto gui ham na sâzad,
Hamân zan nizbâ parhiz bisiyàr
Chel digar ruz nashinad darinkàr.

"The woman who gives premature birth or birth to a still-born child, cannot go or run about where she likes. She even cannot converse with any person. That woman with great abstinence sits apart for 41 days." * The text for these three couplets is to be found in Shloka XI, चत्वारिंशद्दिनानि प्रचरति न वधु : ..... प्रसूता । मौनाढ्या स्वल्पनिद्रा ।

"The woman who has given birth to a child does not move about for 40 days. She observes silence, and sleeps little." In couplets Nos. 177-178 Bahman saw an allusion to women giving child-birth. He therefore thought that the Shloka No. XI related to women who gave premature birth or birth to a still-born child. This is not warranted by the Sanskrit text. We are at a loss to understand why (if our translation be correct) Bahman gives the period as consisting of 41 days instead of 40, as in almost all the manuscripts. In one MS. belonging to Ervad Tehmurasp Anklesaria, we read चत्वारिसप्तदिनानि which might mean four weeks. Ervad Jamshed Maneckji Rustomji in his Gujarati translation dated Samvat 1874 rendered the expression thus:— ચિઆર દહાડાની સાત દહાડાની રતુવંતી હોય.

Evidently his MS. also read चत्वारिसप्त दिनानि. He would not take प्रसूता with वधुः, supposing वधु to mean पुष्पनारी and taking प्रसूता with the second line.

It will be seen that Bahman has in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan translated passages and expressions from Sanskrit Shlokas Nos. I, II, VII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. The contents of the remaining Shlokas have been summarised in the Couplet No. 182 thus:—

O digar har che rasma v ràh budah,
Hami dar pish u yak yak namudah.

"And whatever other customs and rules they had were all described to him one after another."

Raja grants permission to land.

The 16th Shloka, as given in P.S., runs thus:—

श्री होर्मज्देज्यमुख्य सकलविजयकृत् पुत्रपौत्रेषु वृद्धिदाता वः पातु सोऽयं बहुधनकृद् नाशयेत् पातकं च ।

આ આશીર્વાદ સાંભળી રાજાએ કહેલો શ્લોક

ये यूयं पारसीका : सततविजयिन : श्रीजयैश्वर्यवन्त : । आगच्छन्तु प्रकामं बहुबलनिलया : प्राप्नुवन्तु प्रवृद्धिम् ॥

"May Hormuzd, the chief of the gods, the giver of victory and the giver of great wealth and the giver of prosperity to children and grandchildren protect thee, and destroy sins." Hearing this benediction the Râjâ said:—"May you, who are Parsis, who are ever victorious, who are possessed of victory and power, and who carry much strength come at pleasure, and obtain prosperity." The contents of this Shloka may be compared with the Couplets Nos. 141

* Might mean "for another 40 days," but we do not find anything in Sanskrit bearing this sense.

and 185 in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, where we read:—

Duâyash kard o goft ay râe râyân.

. . . . . .

Hamân hukma karda ân niku râya,
Ke dar mulk marâ sâzid mâwâya,

"He (the Dastur) gave him benediction and said O king of kings..... The very moment the good Raja ordered them to take their residence in his kingdom."

Five Conditions Imposed by the Raja.

It is stated in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan that before allowing the Parsi refugees to land, the Raja wanted to know whether they would accept the following five conditions, namely:—(1) that they should give him some information about their religion, (2) that they must give up the language of Iran and speak the language of India, (3) that their women must put on clothes like Hindu women, (4) that they must lay aside weapons and swords and (5) that good works such as marriages should be performed in the evening. * Bahman tells us that the Parsis accepted all these conditions.

Now the question is where did Bahman get all this information from. We do not know whether the Sanskrit Shlokas were actually recited before the Raja. It seems highly probable that an account of the religion and customs was given to the Raja at his request, and that later on when the Parsis acquired good command over the Sanskrit language, the account was versified. It may be that the Raja imposed the condition that the Parsis should in political and other matters use the Hindu language. But what shall we say about the condition that the Parsis should give up their language of Iran? Also if the females were made to put on clothes like Hindu women, we might well ask why the males were not put under similar compulsion. Our opinion is that either Bahman or some one before him in comparatively recent times, looking to the then customs of the Parsis was, on the strength of certain passages in the Sanskrit Shlokas, led to put forward the theory that the Parsis who revered their old customs, could only have been compelled by the Raja to accept Hindu customs. That some Parsis knew Sanskrit pretty well in the time of Nerioshang follows from the fact that his translation was made in the Sanskrit language for pupils, non-pupils and others.* The knowledge of Pahlavi and Pazand gradually disappeared and their place was taken up by Sanskrit, which was the common language, and learned Mobeds may well have tried to hide their ignorance of their religious tongues under the pretext that the Raja compelled them to give up Iranian languages. The second line of the 4th Shloka is thus read in P. S.—
श्रीगंधाढ्यं सुगंधं वपुषि युवतयो धारयन्तीह येषां
"Whose females apply to their bodies सुगंध &c."

Now turning to the other MSS. we find that the ladies are said to have "*put on*" चंदनाद्यम् (sandal and other things). The question as to what आद्यम् could be, was not difficult to answer; it was meant for "fragrant substances." But it seems, that some one seeing that the dress of our females was adopted from the Hindus started the theory that the Parsi ladies were compelled to dress like Hindu females by the king Jâdi Râna.

* See Couplets Nos. 153-160.

* In his introduction to the translation of Ijashne for instance Nerioshang says:—
इदं इजिस्निजंदपुस्तकं मया निरिओसंघेन धवलसुतेन पहलवीजंदात् संस्कृतभाषायां अवतारितं सुखप्रबोधाय उत्तमानां शिष्याशिष्याणां श्रोतृणा (श्रोत्रियाणां)।
"I, Nerioshang Dhaval, have translated this book of Ijashne-zand from Pahlavi-zand into Sanskrit language for being easily understood by good pupils, non-pupils, and learners (priests)."

In Shloka III we read :—

रम्यं वस्त्रं पवित्रं कवचगुणमयं कुंचुकं ये धरन्ते *

"Who put on a clean sacred garment (Sudreh) which has the quality of a coat-of-mail." The comparison of the Sudreh with a coat-of-mail may have induced some one to believe that at the time when the Shlokas were written, armoured dress had disappeared from among the Parsis, and that the Sudreh was the only dress, which reminded one of their war-like habits. Now the Parsis were a military nation when they landed in India. Therefore it was concluded that they must have been compelled to lay aside arms by the Raja.

In Shloka IV we read :—

यन्मांगल्ये विवाहे कथितशुभदिने सुस्वरं गीत-वाद्यम् ।

" Melodious songs are sung and music is played at auspicious marriage ceremonies on auspicious days mentioned (to them). " कथितशुभदिने means "on auspicious days mentioned" of course, by mobeds, astrologers and others but some one took कथित to mean "as *ordered* by the king," and seeing the custom of the performance of marriage ceremony in the evening he started the theory that it was under compulsion from the Raja that the custom was adopted by the Parsis.

Thus then in our opinion an explanation of the five conditions, which were alleged to have been imposed by the Hindu king, is found in the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas themselves. It seems to us that the tradition in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan about our arrival to India, was based on these Shlokas and the inscription of the Châlukya king Vinayâditya (A. D. 697).

Date of the Shlokas.

It is not known when the Sanskrit Shlokas were written. There are however a few points, which help us to determine the date approximately. We have no doubt whatever that these Shlokas must have been written by some learned Parsi, since a Hindu could hardly be expected to use such technical words as Hormazd, Yazads, Kusti, Atash, and Nyâsa,* and such Pahlavi words as पुल *puhal*, विदीना (*Veh dinân*)† &c.

That these Shlokas existed in the time of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan (A. D. 1600) is quite certain, since Bahman has, as we have already seen, given a summary of some of the important Shlokas. The date can be pushed back to A. D. 1567 when Chândâ-Prakasha was written. This book was composed in Sanskrit verses by a Mobed named Chândâ on the question of intercalation. After referring to the ceremonies to be performed in the intercalary month, the author mentions the things to be given to learned Mobeds in charity. The Shloka No. 17 in his book runs somewhat incorrectly thus :—

खाद्यं मिष्टान्नदानं ददतु गुणवतां सर्वदा पंडितानाम् । प्रथ्वीवस्त्र च कांचनगोहययुतं मेष वर्षे षुदानं । उर्णो कुस्तीषुकंचूकं वर-फलबहुलं मद्यदुग्धंच रौप्पीयं । घटाषुपात्र मुक्तावलिसहीतं द्रव्यदानं च नित्यं ॥

"Sweet food and eatables should always be given to learned persons, also land, cloth, gold, cow, horse and other gifts in the (intercalary) year—also woollen Kusti and good Sudreh which has a great merit; also wine, milk and rupees. Money should always be given with rows of pearls, given in good vessels and jars."

The writer of this Shloka has evidently borrowed some of the phrases and expressions from the Sanskrit Shlokas Nos. V and III. The first line of the above Shloka may be compared with मधुरसमयं चान्नदानादि नित्यं.....वस्त्रा-द्यं द्रव्यदानं ददति गुणवतां सर्वदा याचकानाम्

* See also Shloka XIII.

* See Shlokas I, XI, III, XVI, XII.

† Shlokas V, XI.

in Shloka V. The words उर्णां कुस्तीम् and कचुकं are met with in Shloka III. The expression वरफलबहुल is the same as in Shloka II. Even the very metre appears to be the same as that of the Shlokas, namely *Sragdharâ*.

The Chândâ-Prakâsha enables us to see that Parsi scholars of the time had very imperfect acquaintance with the Sanskrit language. The Sanskrit kolophon of Meherbân Kaikhusru dated Samvat 1378 also shows that the then Parsis could not write good Sanskrit. * It seems almost certain that since the time of Nerioshang a decay or deterioration had set in, which grew worse and worse in course of time. On the other hand the perfect metre, felicitous expressions and well-arranged compounds in the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas leave no doubt in our mind that they must have been composed in the time of Nerioshang or even earlier.

Was Nerioshang Dhaval the Writer of the Shlokas?

It is not difficult to see that the Sanskrit Shlokas were meant to explain our religious matters clearly to the Hindu Râjâ, or at any rate to the Hindu people. This is proved by such expressions as जान्हवीस्नान-तुल्यां (Shloka XIII), अहिमुखसमताबंधनां (Shloka III.) and नागाकारां (Shloka XIII) as applied to our *Kusti*. In the Hindu scriptures Agni is called देवानां मुखं (mouth of gods); similarly in Shloka XVI Atash is called होर्मज्दमुखं (mouth of Hormazd). The Muktâd days are spoken of as श्राद्धकाल in Shloka X. Offering of dry Sandalwood to fire is spoken of as होम in Shloka VIII. Now so far as we know, Nerioshang Dhaval never wrote for the Hindu people. Therefore he could not have been the author of the Shlokas. There are two other cogent reasons for arriving at the same conclussion.

The doctrine of dualism is referred to in Shloka VI, and the two spirits are spoken of as सृष्टिसंहारकारौ निरवधि-पुरुषौ "the two limitless beings, the creator and the destroyer." In Nerioshang's translation of the Yasna XXX-3 the two spirits are said to be Hormuzd and Ahriman. This shows that the writer of the Shlokas must be different from Nerioshang.

Nerioshang always translates the Avesta word *Fravashi* (Pahlvi *Farohar*) by वृद्धि. * But in Shloka X, the word used is पितृ, which shows that the writer could not be Nerioshang and that he selected this technical word, so that it may be easily understood by the Hindus.

Date Determined Approximately.

P. S. seems to be a very old manuscript, since it is the only manuscript, which contains a reference to the "worship of the cow" and as the Kisseh-i-Sanjan also refers to "cow-worship," it is reasonable to assume that Bahman had P. S. before him. Now in P. S. the expression देवपूजादि-कार्ये occurs in Shloka VII, where the word देव is used in a good sense. Turning to Nerioshang's translation, we find that the Avestan word *daeva* is not translated by him anywhere but is transcribed as देव in the sense of a "demon." In the Sanskrit Ashirwâda in the manuscript H1 belonging to the late Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji of Poona, (dated Samvat 1471=A. D. 1415), the word *daeva* (देव) is rendered as दैत्य (demon); and the word has continued to bear this meaning down to our own time.

* It is true that a manuscript of a medical book was caused to be transcribed in Samvat 1486 (A. D. 1430) at Broach by Ardeshir, who was a learned Andhiaru, for his son to study. (See Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on Sk. MSS. 1882-83). But we do not know whether this medical student could write good Sanskrit.

* See Ervad Sheheriarji Bharucha's Collected Sk. Writings II, Note 98.

Accordingly we think that the word देव ceased to be used in a good sense (namely, for "a good god") from the time of Nerioshang at least. We are therefore inclined to place the date of the Shlokas before Nerioshang's time.

The expression धीरा: (bold), सुवीरा: (great warriors), and बहुबलनिलया: (possessed of great strength), all show, in our opinion, that the martial spirit was still alive. The expression प्रगदितमहिमा: (in Shloka XV) shows that the glory of the Parsis was the subject of talk at the time. These expressions and the last Shloka, in which according to P. S. the king grants permission to the Parsis "to come and live in prosperity" (आगच्छन्तु प्रकामं प्राप्नुवन्तु प्रवृद्धिम्) prove that the Shlokas must have been composed some centuries before the time of Nerioshang.

The word गौर is usually taken to mean "*white.*" That sense would hardly be in keeping with the words धीरा: सुवीरा: &c. Could it be that that word was meant for the people known as *Gauras or Gabras*,—a name which came to be used in a bad sense in later times? In our opinion this word *Gabra* was connected with* the name of the Gaobârâh Sepehbads, whose dynasty ended with the Sepehbud Khorshed in the reign of Khalif Mancur (A. D. 754-775.) If the warlike spirit had not disappeared, the Shlokas may be supposed to have been composed shortly after our arrival in India. But there are other considerations.

It is stated in verse No. XIV that if an animal was killed by any one even accidentally, he had to drink पंचगव्य. This surely was a Hindu custom; and we may well suppose that between the time of our arrival and the adoption of this custom, about a couple of centuries may have passed. Since the Shlokas were in our opinion written before the time of Nerioshang, we think that in view of the above Hindu custom, which had most probably disappeared in the time of the Revayats, and in view of the fact that foreigners like the Parsis would require at least a couple of centuries to get complete mastery over such a difficult language as Sanskrit, the date of the composition of the Shlokas may be placed somewhere near 900 or 1000 A. D.

* Gaobar=Gav-bar=Gab-bar=Gabar.

CHAPTER No. 10.

THE MAGAS OR THE SO-CALLED MAGUS IN THE BHAVISHYA PURANA.

Story of Samba.

Some scholars have relied upon certain passages in the Bhavishya Purâna to show that the Magas or "silent worshippers of the Sun from Sāka-dwipa," were "the fire-worshippers of Iran residing in India." With a view to see clearly what the customs and practices of these so-called Indian Parsi priests were, it is necessary to give a literal translation of some of the chapters dealing with the Magas in the Bhavishya Purâna.

By way of introduction we shall first give a very brief summary of the story of the Magas, as related by Dr. Wilson:—Sâmba, the son of Krishna, who was a prince, became leprous through the imprecation of the irascible sage Durvâsas, whom he had offended. Despairing of a cure by human skill, he went from Dwârkâ, and having crossed the river Chandrabhâgâ (Chinâb) went to Mitravana, where by fasting and prayer, he acquired the Sun-god's favour and was cured of his disease. Out of gratitude, he built a temple of the Sun. Sâmba wished to keep Brâhmans for performing rites and for receiving the donations he would make in honour of the Sun; but he was told, that according to the Hindu religion, the Brâhman who performed idol worship as a source of emolument was to be condemned. He was therefore asked to go to Gauramukha, the Purohita to Ugrasena, king of Mathurâ, who would tell him about the priests he wanted to employ. Sâmba was then told to go to Sâka-dwipa to bring the Magas.*

* As the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says, tales were invented to explain the admission of the Magas into Brahmanism (Bom. Gaz. IX, p. 439-440).

Then Dr. Wilson gives details of the customs and religious practices of the Magas, and concludes "these details are more than enough to establish the fact, that the Bhavishya Purâna intends by the Magas, the Mughs of the Persians, the Magi of Greeks and the Parsees of India."

Samba becomes leprous. (Brahma Parva, Chapter 66).

Sâmba says to Vashishta:—'The irascible sage Durvâsas was laughed at by me through intoxication; then I acquired great leprosy through his imprecation (शाप) (§ 30.) Afterwards I, who was stricken with the disease of leprosy, went to (my) father, and with shame spoke these words very arrogantly (§31):—"O father, my body burns, my voice falters, the great disease of terrible form kills my body (§ 32). I, who am wholly distressed, am suffering on account of a cruel act; pacification is not likely to be attained by me through physicians or drugs. Therefore I (who am) such, wish to give up my life with your permission. If I am to be favoured (=kindly) grant me permission". (§§ 33-34). The father, who was told thus, became afflicted with the sorrow of the son. He then thought for a moment, and spoke thus to him (§ 38):— "O son, take courage: do not let (your) mind be sorrowful; (for), a disease kills a sad person, just as (= as easily as) wind (blows away) dry grass-(§ 36). O son, be devoted to the worship of the gods, do not be sad" (§ 37).

* * *

Note:—Sâmba is then asked to worship the Sun. Leaving several Chapters we read as under.

* * *

Samba is cured of leprosy —Brahma Parva, Chapter 127.

Sâmba says:—"O sire, I am going to the forest; you should give me permission (§ 5). (Then) he, who was given permission by Krishna, went from the northern shore of the Indus, and crossed the great river Chandrabhâgâ (= Chinab) (§ 6). Then having gone to Mitravana, the *Tîrtha* which was well known in all the three worlds, and having observed a fast (there) Sâmba muttered a secret incantation and worshipped the Sun (§§ 7-8),

[Having prayed to the Sun, he asked the following boon].

"May the impurity, which is located in my body be destroyed by thy favour, so that, O Sun, the whole of my body may be clean." The Sun said, "very well"; (then) Sâmba did cast away that disease from (his) body, just as a snake casts off skin (§ § 27-28). Then he became beautiful again with a divine appearance, and bowing to the god with his head, he stood before him (§ 29). The Sun said, "Hear again, O Sâmba! I am pleased, and I say to you, O devoted one, that from to-day people (will be) faithful to those, who erect holy shrines (connected) with thy name for me in this world. Place me (in a shrine) on this auspicious bank of the Chandrabhâgâ (river), O Sâmba; by thy name this city will be very famous...." .....

Samba acquires Sun's idol--Brahma Parva, Chapter 129.

Then Sâmba, accompanied by other men practising penance, went to the river Chandrabhâgâ, at not a very great distance (from it), for placing (the idol of the Sun in a shrine). (§ 2). Having called to mind the round form of the Sun, he daily took a bath with devotion, and while bathing, he contemplated over the form (of the image), he should put up. Having taken a bath, (one day) he suddenly saw in front of him, the shining image of the Sun, being carried by the waves of water (§ § 3-4). Having taken it out, he placed it in that region of Mitravana (§ 5). Sâmba, having placed the idol of that great Sun in the world, and having established the Sun god (मित्र) in that beautiful Mitravana with devotion, asked that very image of the Sun with a bow, "O Lord, who created this thy image, which is beautiful?" (§ § 6-8). The image said to him, "Hear, O Sâmba, I will tell you, who created this worldy form of mine. Formerly my form was enveloped with great lustre, and it was unbearable for any creature. I was therefore requested by the gods, thus:— "May thy form be one, which will be bearable by all the creatures." Then I ordered Vishva-Karmâ, whose austerities were great, thus:— "Having pacified (= lessened the effect of) the lustre, change my form (§ § 9-11). Afterwards He by my order having gone to Sâka-dwipa changed my form (§ 12). Then having formed me on the Himâlaya Mountain, which is inhabited by Sidhhas (= inspired sages), he caused me to be brought down for thy sake to the Chandrabhâgâ" (§ 14).

Samba asks Narada about temple—Brahma Parva, Chapter 130.

Then Sâmba goes to Nârada and asks: "How is the temple to be made and in what region, O best of Brâhmans; what (kind of) temple is enjoined to be made, O twice-born, for the god of gods"(§ 7).

Having heard Nârad's reply, Sâmba says:—

"In that region, the best *temple* of the Sun shall be made" (तस्मिन् प्रदेशे वै कार्यम् भानोर्मन्दिरम् उत्तमम्) (§ 40.)

Magas, Zarthushtra, Padan Avyanga—Brahma Parva, Chapter 139.

Sâmba says to Nârada:—"Through your favour I obtained this my original appearance, and also (got) personal audience with the great Sun. Having got all this, my mind is again overpowered by anxiety, as to who will do the continuation (*lit.* the keeping up) of the Sun's worship. O Brahmana, you should in order to oblige me, tell (me) about the twice-born, possessed of virtues, and able to continue (the worship)." Thus spoken to by Sâmba, Nârada returned him answer:—"The Brâhmans do not accept money offered to the Devas. Wealth remains (behind) in this world. (Therefore) virtue is to be obtained; the ceremony which is done for money obtained through worship of a god is not holy. Those Brâhmans, who disregarding (this rule), do the ceremony overcome by greed are low Brâhmans in this world, and are unfit to sit in the same row with caste-people(अपांक्तेयः). That man of wicked soul, who lives through avarice on god's wealth or Brâhman's riches, lives on the leavings of a vulture's food. Therefore no Brâhman should do the service of god (for money) (§§ 1–7). The god (Sun) only will be able to tell you about the man, who knows the ceremony, who is learned and who is fit to do the service ; therefore go to him for assistance. Or O Lion of the Yadus, go to Gauramukha, the family priest of Ugrasena, and ask him. He will fulfil your desire" (§§ 8–9). Thus spoken to by Nârada, Sâmba, the son of Jâmbavati, having gone to the Brâhman Gauramukha, who had finished his religious duties of the forenoon, spoke these words with modesty:—"By the favour of the Sun, I have made a large house (विपुलं गृहं) (§§ 10–12)... I have furnished it with everything and have placed the idol; therefore I wish to give donations, which I am thinking of, to worthy persons. O great sage, accept all (I want to give you), if you love me." Hearing these words of Sâmba the great sage replied (§§ 13–14).

* * *

Note:—The reply is given at great length, but the purport is that, a Brâhman should not accept any donation, nor should a king give anything to a Brâhman for the service of god.

* * *

Sâmba said:—"If the Brâhmans are not to accept (the donation), to whom shall I give it ; you should tell me what you may have heard or seen" (§ 27). Gauramukha replied:—"O king, hand over this city to *Maga* ; his is the right to the grains offered to the gods" (§ 28). Sâmba said:—"what have you been told about this *Maga*, in what place does he stay, whose son is he, O best of Brâhmans, what is his appearance like"? (§ 29). Gauramukha replied, "he who is spoken of as Maga, is a divine excellent Brâhman ; he is the son of the Sun (§ 3). O Yâdava, the goddess Nikshubhâ, who is worshipped by the people, having been cursed, acquired human form and came to this world from the Sun (world). Her family (गोत्र) was known as *Mihira* ; it possessed the best quality of Brâhmanhood. There was formerly a pious son of a Rishi, named Sujihva; to him a daughter was born named Nikshubhâ. That good dame was matchless in form, and was considered most beautiful in the world (§ § 31-34). By her father's orders, that girl was thrown into fire (§ 35).

While she was being thrown into fire according to law, the Sun, the god of gods, saw her. Then that Lord of the gods became fascinated by her, who was endowed with beauty and youth, and thought (thus):— "How shall I marry her. This fire, which is worshipped by the gods, has been kicked by her. Having entered the forest, I shall marry that thin-bodied one, who is worshipped by the people' (§§ 33-38).

Thus thinking, the Sun of numerous rays, entered the fire and at that time became its (= fire's) son. Then she, who had charm, loveliness, beauty, youth and broad eyes, jumped over the burning fire. He (the fire god's son) became angry, and assuming his own form saw the girl and was afflicted. The fire (=fire-god's Son) then caught (her) hand with (his) hand, and spoke, O Lion of the Yadus, thus:— "The sun has not arisen, as you have abandoned the rites enjoined by the Vedas and jumped over me, (§§ 39-42). Therefore (although) begotten by me, that one known as *Jarashabda*, the increaser of the fame of his family, will not be (regarded as my) son" (§ 43).

* * *

Note:—The name *Jarashabda* was probably a bad reading for *Jarashashda*.

The story of Jarashabda given here closely resembles the account about Zarathushtra given in the Dinkard Book VII, Ch. II 3-7. There it is stated that the *Khureh* (Divine glory) flying on to the Sun, the moon and the stars, joined with the Atash (fire) which was kept in the house of Zois. Subsequently it left the Atash and joined with the wife of Frâhimrava-Zois. This lady gave birth to Zoroaster's mother Dughdâ, who, when she was born, had such a shining face, due to the *Khureh* in her, that darkness was dispelled by her presence. Now in the story of the Bhavishya Purâna, the lady named Nikshubhâ is the mother of Jarashabda, and the Sun who married the damsel seems to be *Khureh*. If Frâhimrava is a corrupt form of *Frâhumrava* (=the good speaker), his name may be identified with *Sujihva* (=the good tongued one). Thus it appears that the writer of the Bhavishya Purâna has adopted the story about Zoroaster given in the Dinkard (S. B. E. Vol. 47, pp. 18-19). Could he have taken it from the Dinkard itself? An answer in the affirmative is "not impossible," in view of the fact that much later events are referred to in the Bhavishya Purâna.

Bhandarkar's Account of Magas.

Note:—Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar gives an interesting account of the Magas in his book, "*Vaishnavism, Saivism*" &c. (pp. 153-155), from which we quote the following important, though somewhat long, passage:—

"Varâhamihira (in Brhatsamhita, Chap. 60, 19) tells us, that the installation and consecration of the images and temple of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas, and generally those who worship a certain deity according to their special ritual should be made to perform the ceremony concerning that deity. This shows that the Magas were, according to Varâhamihira, the special priests of the sun-god. There is a legend concerning this matter in the Bhavishya Purâna (Chap. 139). Sâmba, the son of Krishna by Jambavati, constructed a temple of the Sun on the banks of the Chandrabhâgâ, the modern Chenâb in the Punjab, and no local Brâhman would accept the office of a regular priest of the temple. He thereupon asked Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena. He was told to get Magas, who were special sun-worshippers from Śâka-

dwipa. Then is given the history of the Magas. Sujihva was a Brâhman of the Mihira Gotra. He had a daughter of the name of Nikshubhâ, with whom the sun fell in love. The son of these two was called *Jarashabda* or *Jarashasta*, and from whom sprang all Magas. Thereupon Sâmba went on the back of Garuda, his father's vehicle, to Sâkadwipa, brought some Magas from it and installed them into the office of priests of the temple, he had constructed.

"The Magas have long been known in the literary history of India. There is an inscription at Govindapur in the Gayâ District, dated Sâka 1059, corresponding to 1137-38 A. D., in the opening stanza of which the Magas, who sprang from the Sun, are represented to have been brought into the country by Sâmba... There are traces of the Magas elsewhere, and there are Brâhmans of that name in Râjputânâ and some other provinces of Northern India. Now these Magas are the Magi of ancient Persia, and the name Jarashasta mentioned above as occurring in the Bhavishya Purâna connects them with the Avesta prophet Zarathushtra. The Avyanga, which according to the Purâna they wore round their waist, was the same as the Aivyâonghem of the Avesta language, which last signifies the Kusti worn by the Pârsis at the present day.

"Alberuni, speaking of the Persian priests Magians, says that they existed in India and were called Magas (India Vol. I, p. 21). The idea of locating them on a continent called Sâkadwipa must have arisen from the fact, that they were foreigners like the Sakas, with whom the Indians had been familiar, since the second or third century before the Christian era. Evidently then the worship of the sun or Mihira-worship was brought into India by the old Persian priests Magi, but at whose instance and under what circumstances they came, it is difficult to say. The legendary tradition of their having been brought by Sâmba was current in the first half of the twelfth century, as we have seen from the inscription. The temple on the Chandrabhâgâ referred to above was that, which existed at Multan and a glowing description of which is given by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang. Four centuries later it was seen by Alberuni (India Vol I, p. 116). It existed till the 17th century, when it was finally destroyed by Aurangzeb. Multân is the same as the Sanskrit *Mûlasthâna*, and this name may have been given to the place, because the new worship of the sun was first organised there, and it was its original seat.

"On the coins of Kanishka there occurs a figure with the name Miro--Mihira by its side..... The cult of Mihr had originated in Persia and it extended itself up to Asia Minor and even Rome, and the proselytising energy, which characterised its first adherents must have led to its extension towards the east also, and of this extension the figure of Mihira on Kanishka's coin is an evidence. The cult, therefore, must have penetrated into India about the time of that Kushan prince, and the Multân temple, which was its original seat, must have been consecrated about the same time.

"An inscription at Mandasaur records the construction of a temple to the Sun in the year 437 A. D. by a guild of weavers, and its repair in the year 473 A. D. Another on a copper plate found at Indore..... mentions ān endowment of Devavishnu in 464 A. D. for lighting a lamp in a temple of the Sun. And in a third is recorded a grant in 511 A. D. to a temple of Aditya or the sun. A great many more sun temples have been dtscovered especially

in Western India from Multân down to Cutch and northern Gujarat. *

" The form of the idol of the sun worshipped in such temples is described by Varâhamihira (Brhatsamhitâ, Chap. 58), but the features mentioned by him which have a significance for our purpose are that his feet and legs should be enclosed or covered up to the knees...and he should be encircled by an Avyanga (v. 46-47). Accordingly the images of the sun, that are found in the temples mentioned above have boots reaching up to the knees and a girdle round the waist with one end hanging downwards. This last is a Persian feature,.....it is certainly not Indian. The features of the idol of the sun and the fact of Magas, who were descended from the Persian Magi being its priests, point unmistakenably to the conclusion, that the cult was introduced into India from Persia, and I believe that the construction of so many temples was also due to the foreign influence; for, in the account of the Saura systems, there is not the remotest allusion to the temple of the sun. According to all appearances, therefere, the cult prevalent in Northern India was entirely distinct from these systems.... *The Magas themselves, the priests of the new cult, were gradually thoroughly Hinduised, until they became undistinguishable from the other Hindus and formed only a separate caste.* In the copper-plate grant of Harshavadhana who lived in the middle of the seventh century, his father, grand-father and great grand-father are all styled great devotees of the sun (परमादित्यभक्त) (Epigraphia Indica Vol. I, pp. 72-73). This is an evidence to show, that the sun cult, probably made up of a mixture of the indigenous and foreign form, prevailed in the beginning of the sixth century and was professed by great princes."

* Burgess Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat.

In Alberuni's "India" (translation by Dr. Sachau Vol. I, p. 121) we read about the Magas as under:— " Further he (Râma) ordered that servants and priests to minister to the idols should be nominated from different classes of the people. To the idol of Vishnu are devoted the class called Bhagavata, to the idol of the Sun, the Maga, *i. e.* the Magians."

* * *

Note on Govindpur Inscription re: Magas.

As stated above, the legend of the importation of the Magas by Sâmba is referred to in the Govindpur stone inscription dated Saka 1059 (1137-38 A. D.).

This was an inscription on a slab of stone in Narsingh Mali's house at Govindpur, in the Nawâdâ sub-division of the Gayâ district of the Province of Bengal. The inscription consists of 39 Sanskrit verses written in Nâgari characters, and at the end it bears the date Sâka 1059. The immediate object of the inscription was to record, that a man named Gangâdhara, who had himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank, near which the inscription must have been put up.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Vishnu, the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies Aruna (*i. e.* the Dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun), " whose presence sanctifies Sâkadwipa, where the Brâhmans are called Magas. " It also sanctifies the Magas themselves, who are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by Sâmba. The verse 2 runs thus:—

देवो जीयात् त्रिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो-
यत्निवासेन पुण्यः ।

शाकद्वीपस्य दुग्धाम्बुनिधिवलयितो
यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या।
वंशस्तत्र द्विजानां भ्रमिलिखित-
तनोर्भास्वतः स्वाङ्ग (मुक्तः)।
शांबो यानानिनाय स्वयमिह
महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥

"Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruna, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Sâkadwipa, where the Brâhmans are named Magas! There is a race of twice-born (sprung) from the Sun's own body, ground by the wheel,* whom Sâmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they honoured in the world."

Further up the author says, that the first of these Maga Brâhmans was Bhâradvâja, whose family had a hundred branches. In one of them, a certain Dâmodara was born, whose son Chakrapâni was a poet. One of the sons of this poet was Manoratha, who, according to our author, was a "modern Kalidâsa" (नूतन-कालिदासः) and his own father. The inscription tells us distinctly that Gangâdhara, his father and grand-father were all poets. (See Epigraphia Indica, pp. 330-342).

The above inscription shows that the legend of the Magas having come to India must have been in existence some centuries before Saka 1059 or A. D. 1137-38. On the other hand the legend is not found in Harivamsa, Vishnu Purâna and Bhâgavat Purâna, in which other legends about Krishna and his descendants are narrated. Hence according to R. Chanda, it cannot be treated as an evidence of the early migration of the Magas to India. (See R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 224-225).

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer observes, that the Multan sun-worship was introduced under the Sassanian influence. (Bom. Gaz. Vol I, pt. I, p. 142).

* To diminish the Sun's intensity Vishvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (Vishnu Purâna III-2). It is suggested that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the Sun's body.

* * *

Cunningham's Account of Multan.

Major-General Cunningham's account of the ancient city of Multân is very interesting and important in connection with the story of Sâmba, and we think it right to give below a long extract from his book, named "Ancient Geography of India" (pp. 230-240):—

"The famous metropolis of Multân was originally situated on two islands in the Râvi, but the river has long ago deserted its old channel, and its nearest point is now more than 30 miles distant. But during high floods the waters of the Râvi still flow down their old bed... .....Multân is known by several different names, but all of them refer either to Vishnu or to the Sun, the latter being the great object of worship in the famous temple, that once crowned the citadel. Abù Rihân * mentions the names of *Kasyapa-pura*, *Hansapura*, *Bhâgapura* and *Sâmbapura*, to which I may add *Prahlâdapura* and *Adyasthâna*. According to the traditions of the people, *Kasyapa-pura* was founded by *Kasyapa*, who was the father of the twelve *Adityas* or Sun-gods by *Aditi*, and of the *Daityas* or Titans by Diti. He was succeeded by his son, the Daitya named *Hiranya-Kashipu*, who is famous throughout India for his denial of the omnipresence of Vishnu, which led to the manifestation of the *Narasinha Avatâr*. He was followed by his still more famous son *Prahlâda*, the ardent worshipper of Vishnu, after whom

* Abu Rihân Al Biruni (A. D. 970-1039) (Bom. Gaz. I. pt. II. p. 507).

the city was named *Prahlâda-pura*. His great-grand son, *Bâna* (commonly called *Bâna* the *Asur*) was the unsuccessful antagonist of Krishna, who took possession of the kingdom of Multân. Here *Sâmba*, the son of Krishna, established himself in the grove of *Mitra-vana*, and by assiduous devotion to *Mitra* or the 'Sun' was cured of his leprosy. He then erected a golden statue of *Mitra*, in a temple named *Adyasthâna* or the 'First Shrine,' and the worship of the Sun thus begun by *Sâmba*, has continued at Multân down to the present day.

The story of *Sâmba*, the son of Krishna, is told in the *Bhavishya Purâna*, but as it places the *Mitravana* or 'Sun-grove' on the bank of Chandrabhâga or Chinâb river, its composition must be assigned to a comparatively late period, when all remembrance of the old course of the Râvi flowing past Multân had died away. We know, however, from other sources, that the Sun-worship at Multân must be very ancient. In the seventh century Hwen Thsang found a magnificent temple with a golden statue of the god most richly adorned, to which the kings of all parts of India sent offerings. Hence the place became commonly known amongst the early Arab conquerors as the 'Golden Temple,' and Masudi even affirms that *Multân* means 'medows of gold.'

"The people refer the name to *Mûlasthâna*, which agrees with the form *Mûlatâna*. *Mûla* means 'root or origin,' and *sthâna* or *thâna* means 'place or shrine.' Hence *Mûlasthâna* is the 'Temple of Mûla,' which I take to be an appellation of the Sun. In the *Amarakosha* one of the names of the Sun is *Vradhna*, which is also given as a synonym of *Mûla*.....In Latin *radix* signifies not only origin or root, but also the radish; so also does *Mûla* signify origin or root and *Mûlaka* or *Muli*=radish. The connection between a sunbeam and a radish obviously lies in their similarity of shape .....For these reasons I infer that *Mûla* is only an epithet of the Sun, as the god of rays, and that *Mulasthânapura* means simply "the city of the Temple of the Sun."

"*Bhâga* and *Hansa* are well-known names of the Sun; and therefore *Bhagapura* and *Hansapura* are only synonyms of the name of Multân. The earliest name is said to have been *Kasyapapura* (usually pronounced *Kassappur*), which I take to be the *Kaspapuros* of Hekatæus, and the *Kaspaturos* of Herodotus, as well as the *Kaspeira* of Ptolemy. The last town is placed at a bend of the lower course of the *Rhuadis* or Râvi, just above its junction with the *Sandobâg* or *Çhandrabhâgâ*..... This identification is most important, as it establishes the fact, that Multân or Kaspeira.....must have been the principal city in the Punjâb towards the middle of the second century of the Christian era. But in the seventh century it had already acquired the name of Mulasthâna or Multân, which was the only name known to the Arab authors down to the time of Abu Rihân, whose acquirement of Sanskrit gave him access to the native literature, from which he drew some of the other names already quoted. The name of *Adyasthâna* or "First Shrine" is applied in the Bhavishya Purâna to the original temple of the Sun, which is said to have been built by Sâmba, the son of Krishna; but *Adya* is perhaps only a corruption of *Aditya*, or the Sun...*Prahlâdpur* refers to the temple of *Narsingh Avatar*, which is still called *Pahlâdpuri*... The great temple of the Sun was destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb and the Jumai Masjid erected on its site.

"By the identification of *Kasyapapura* with the *Kaspeira* of Ptolemy I have shown, that Multân was situated on the bank of the Râvi in the first half of the second century of the Christian era. Hwen Thsang

unfortunately makes no mention of the river; but a few years after his visit the Brahman Rajah of Sindh, named Chach, invaded and captured Multân, and the details of his campaign show, that the Râvi still continued to flow under its walls in the middle of the seventh century.....In A D. 713 when the citadel was besieged by Muhammed bin Kasim, it is stated by Biladuri,* that 'the city was supplied with water by a stream flowing from the river' (the name being left blank). 'Muhammad cut off the water, and the inhabitants, pressed by thirst, surrendered at discretion.' I am willing to accept this account as a proof, that the main stream of the Râvi had already deserted its old channel; but it is quite impossible that Multân could have been forced to surrender for want of water..... Even in the time of Edrisi† the environs of the town are said to have been watered by a small river and I conclude that some branch of the Râvi must still have flowed down to Multân.....Muhammad Kasim may have captured Multân in the same way that Cyrus captured Babylon, by the diversion of the waters, which flowed through the city into another channel."

We have quoted this long passage to show, that the Bhavishya Purâna, which mentions that the temple of the Sun was built on the bank of the Chinâb, could not have been written before the middle of the seventh century A. D.

* * *

[Now let us proceed with the text.]

"The Magas are said to have sprung from the fire, the Brahmans from the moon, and the Bhojakas from the Sun, because they are famous as being divine" (§44). Having thus spoken, the Sun god disappeared. Then the Rishi (Sujihva) knew by means of meditation, that the child was conceived (§45). That one of great lustre, who was very wise, and who had Rigveda on his tongue, threw himself down, (and) cursing her, spoke these words:—"O most unlucky girl, the fœtus, which was covered over with fire from the fault of your own lustful self, will become unworthy of honour" (§§ 46–47). That girl, who was distressed with grief for (her) son, with painful eyes, began to think sorrowfully about that one (=the Sun), who has the form of fire (thus):—"This child in my womb is of (*i.e.* by) (you) the best of gods; this great curse is given me; you should make me worthy of honour (§§ 48–49). O Lord of gods, do that by which he may become worthy of honour." While she was thus thinking, the Sun god, having obtained the form of fire, spoke these words:— ....."That illustrious (Rishi), who has Rigveda on his tongue, acts according to scriptures; (therefore) the curse pronounced by him cannot be altered (§§ 50–52). However, on account of the gravity of the matter, I shall make thy son, who is unworthy of honour, fit, best and well versed in the Vedas. (§53). His family members will live as great descendants of Vasistha, limbs of my body, possessed of great soul and expounders of the Vedas. They will be my singers, my worshippers, my devotees, my praisers, my servants and my vow-observers. They, the discerners of truth, will honour thee and me, and the Veda according to law—always being devoted and attached to me (§§54–56). .....They will always wear *matted hair* and *beard* (जटाश्मश्रु), will be always devoted to me, and will know *the rites of the five periods* (पंचकालविधानज्ञा) (§ 58). Having held *Poornak* in the right hand and *Varma* in the left, and having *covered the face, which is always pure with Pati-*

* An Arab writer A. D. 892 (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. I, p. 505).

† End of 11th century A. D. (Elliot I-74).

dâna (*i.e.* Padâna) they are ever holy." (§ 59).

* * *

Note.—The text of the last passage which is very important is as under:—

पूर्णैकदक्षिणे पाणौ वामेन धारयन् ।
पतिदानेन वदनं प्रच्छाद्य नियतः शुचिः ॥

Dr. Wilson probably read *Varshma* instead of *Varma*, which latter means "armour." If the reading be वर्ष्म it would refer to Barsam. The most important word is *Patidâna*. There is no such word in the Sanskrit language, whose meaning would fit in with the context. The word is clearly the Avestan *Paitidân* (=Padân), meaning "a mouth piece" or "piece of cloth with which the mouth is covered."

* * *

"They *will dine in silence*, (thus) gaining the strength of the great. They will have sorrowful minds if there is want of self-control or want of kindness (§ 60). Even those who will worship me hereafter without rite or Mantra will, although they will fall from heaven, play in the sun world until (they are) exhausted (§ 61). Such will be thy sons on the earth—the Mahâtmâs (great souled ones) in the *family of Maga*, who *will be well versed in Vedas and Vedângas*" (§ 62).

* * *

Note:—We find that the Magas wore *matted hair*, and expounded the Vedas and Vedangas. They were specially called for the service of Sun's *idol*. Tbis shows that they were mixed Zoroastrians.

* * *

"Having thus consoled that divine nymph, the Sun, the water-thief,* the one of great lustre disappeared, and she became glad. Thus, O son of Krishna (=Sâmba), the Bhojakas † were born—(thus) they, the lights of Vishnu, (विष्णुभाः) those sprung from the Aditya (आदित्याः), those honoured by the people, were born." (§§ 63-64).

"To them give this town; they are competent to receive gifts from you and me, and to worship the Sun." (§ 65). Having heard these words of Gauramukha, Sâmba, the Yâdava and son of Jâmbavati bowed with his head, and spoke:— "O lion of the Brâhmans, where do these Bhojakas, the sons of the Sun, the Mahâtmâs live, so that I may bring them" (§§ 66-67), Gauramukha said:— "I do not know, O you of great arms, where the Magas live; the Sun knows that; therefore go (to seek) his assistance" (§ 68). Thus spoken to by the Brâhman (Gauramukha), Sâmba bowed to the Sun with his head, and spoke to him as follows:— "Who will perform thy worship?" (§ 69). Thus questioned by Sâmba, the image (of the Sun) spoke to him "O sinless one, there is none fit to worship me in Jambudwipa (§ 70). Go to Shâkadwipa and bring here my worshipper. Sâkadwipa is remembered (as being) on the yonder coast of the ocean of salt and (as being) surrounded by the ocean of milk and on the further

* वारित्स्करः *lit.* one who steals water by drying it up.

† The Magas were also called Bhojakas

side of Jambudwipa. There the people are said to be of 4 kinds. They are *Magas*, *Magagâs*, *Mânasâs*, and *Madangâs*. The Magas are chiefly Brâhmans; the Magagas are known to be Kshatriyas; the Mânasâs are known as Vaisyas; and their Sudras are Madangas." There is no intermarriage (संकर)* among them at any time so as to protect the religion (*i. e.* so that religion might remain intact) (§ § 71-74)....

* * *

Note:—In the Vishnu Purâna (II-4 69, 70). *Magâh (or Mrgâh)*, *Magadhâh*, *Mânasâh* and *Mandagâh* are given as the names of the Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras respectively of Shâkadwipa.

In a Bengali MS. of the Mahâbhârata, the first two names are *Magâ* and *Masakâ*. In the Bombay edition of the Mahâbhârata, we have *Mangâh* and *Mrgâh* instead of *Magâ*.†

The *Magadhâ* of the Vishnu Purâna is evidently a mistake‡ or misreading for *Masakâ* of the Mahâbhârata, and therefore the Magadhâs cannot be connected with Shâkadwipa. But as the Magâs are not mentioned in the earlier books, although the Magadhâs§ are, the time of the Magâs coming to India cannot be pushed far back. According to Prof. Weber "the Magas go back to an old mission of the Mithra-cult, the members of which, after their arrival in India (about the first two centuries A. D.), were incorporated in the Brâhman caste." (Indian Antiquary XVI, p. 162).

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says:—"That the Multân sun-worship was introduced under Sassanian influence is supported by the fact, that the figure of the Sun on the fifth century Hindu Sun coins is in the dress of a Persian king: that the priests who performed the Multân sun-worship were called Magas; and by the details of the dress and ritual in the account of the introduction of sun-worship given in the Bhavishya Purâna. That the Meyds or Mands had some share in its introduction is supported by the fact, that the Purâna names the fourth or Sudra class of the sun-worshippers Mandagas. That the Meyds were associated with the Magas is shown by the mention of the Magas as Mihiragas. The third class whom the Bhavishya Purâna associates with the introduction of sun-worship are the Mânas.....The association of the Mânas with Mihiras or Maitrakas suggests that Mâna is Mauna, a Puranik name for the White Huns. That the Multân sun-idol of the sixth and seventh centuries was a Huna idol and Multân the capital of a Huna dynasty seems in agreement with the paramount position of the Rais of Alor or Rori in the sixth century." (Bom. Gaz. I, Pt. I, pp. 142-3).

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says:—"On the coins of Kanishka there occurs a figure with the name Miiro (=Persian Miher, Avesta Mithra) by its

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* This shows that the Magas had no marriage connections with other nations, when they were in their native country.

†In the M. Bh. (Bhishma Purva XI-34-36) we read:—

"In that Shâkadwipa are four sacred provinces. They are the Mrigas, Mashakas, Mânasas and Mandagas. The Mrigas are for the most part Brâhmans.....Among the Mashakas are various Kshatryas &c."

‡ C. V. Vaidya says:—"In our opinion the statements in the Vishnu Purâna are not of much value. The Purâna must have been recast during the revival of Hinduism at the hands of illiterate men." (Vaidya, M.Bh. p. 79).

§Cf. Atharva Veda V. 22; also XV. where Magadha is related to Vrâtya, mentioned in Panchvimsha Br. XVII-4. (Vrâtya was a descendant of a Sudra father and Kshatriya mother).

side.....The cult, therefore, must have penetrated to India about the time of that Kushana prince (120 A. D.), and the Multân temple, which was its original seat, must have been constructed about the same time."*

"The Magian missionaries of Mithraism probably did not come to India alone, and were adopted, as Weber observes, into the ranks of the Brâhmans themselves under the name of *Shâka-dvipiya Brâhmans*, together with some members of the other Iranian immigrants."† (Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 224-227.)

* * *

" Their Vedas are four, and were produced and made by me with (their) secrets and accompanied by various great and secret incantations mentioned in the Vedas, (§76). They think of me only, they always worship me, their minds are devoted to me, they are my worshippers, my devotees, my praisers, my servants, my vow-observers. They put on *Avyanga* with (religious) acts accompanied by ceremonies. "

* * *

Note :—The text runs :—अव्यंग धारिणश्चैव विधिदृष्टेन कर्मणा ।

Avyanga seems to be *Aivranghan* or sacred girdle as suggested by Dr. Wilson. The word occurs very often as we shall see later on.

* * *

" They, who are my followers, always offer best prayers to me (§§ 77-79).....O Sâmba, having mounted Garuda and going quickly without further thought, bring those Magas here from Sâkadwipa for my worship " (§82). The sun of Jâmbavati (= Sâmba) said " very well ; " and having taken his permission went back to the city *Dwârvati* (Dwârkâ), attended with lustre (§83). He told his father everything about his audience with the god. Having obtained Garuda from him, Sâmba mounted it, and marched on. Sâmba whose hairs stood on their ends (out of joy, reached Sâkadwipa and saw there the illustrious Magas as he was told (§§84-85 . They were worshipping the Sun with incense, lamp and other auspicious things. He bowed to them, and having first made circumambulation (out of honour), he asked those illustrious persons about their welfare and said :—" You are the performers of holy acts and are well disposed towards beautiful objects You are devoted to the worship of the Sun and to you gifts can be (lawfully) given (§ 87). Know me to be the son of Vishnu, named and famous as Sâmba. I have enshrined the (idol of) Surya on the banks of the Chandrabhâgâ (§88). I am sent here by him. Get up and let us go " They then answered Sâmba :—" Yes, undoubtedly. " (§89). The god told us also formerly. (Therefore) 18 families of Magas, who know the Vedas, will go with thee as ordered by the god" (§ 90).

Then Sâmba, having placed those 18 families together on Garuda hastily returned (§ 91). In only a very short time, Sâmba reached Mitravana from there, having carried out the orders of the Sun ; and he told (the Sun) everything. (§ 92). The Sun said " very good, " and gladly spoke to Sâmba (thus):—" These are my worshippers, who are the pacifiers of people. O best of Yadus, they will perform my

* Vaishnavism &c. p. 154.

† See also Indian Antiquary XXX, p. 287.

worship according to law ; you shall never again have any anxiety for them" (§§ 90-94).

Customs and Ceremonies of Magas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 140.

Having thus brought the Magas, that Mahâtmâ Sâmba took them into the town on the banks of the river Chandrabhâgâ ; and having enshrined the Sun (idol), he collected much money and gave it to the Bhojakas (§§ 1-2). That town, which was sacred to the Sun, is famous in the three worlds, and is known as Sâmbapura, since it was built by Sâmba. In the middle of that town, the Sun god was enshrined ; and all were made to settle by him in that town which bore the stamp of his name. (§§ 3-4). The Magas' acts were worthy of the families, who had experience of (such) acts ; their service of the god was chanted with the rites mentioned in the Vedas. (§ 5). Then young and holy Sâmba, whose object was fulfilled, having obtained the boon, having bowed to the Sun, the first and oldest god, and afterwards having bowed to all the Magas and having saluted them, started to go to the City Dwâravati. (§§ 6-7). (Then) the gentile, great-souled grand-son of Vasudevâ called the daughters of Bhoja for the purpose of the Magas. The best of the Bhojakas gave daughters to those Magas. All those girls were together adorned with coral and jewels (§§ 8-9). All those were honoured (by Sâmba) and were sent to the temple of the Sun (सवितुर्गृहं). Then Sâmba going there again asked the Sun god :— "Tell me about the history, Vedas and *Avyanga* of the Magas." Hearing these words of Sâmba, the Sun spoke :— "Go to Nârada and ask him; he will tell you everything." Thus spoken to, Sâmba went to Nârada (§§ 10-12).....

Nârada professing ignorance asked him to go to Vyâsa. Sâmba repeated the story and said :— "While contemplating the Sun, while thinking about the Bhojakas and their history, there is a doubt in my mind (§ 22), How are they the worshippers (of the Sun)? Who are the Magas? Who are the Bhojakas? What is the best thing to be known about them? Who among them is famous? (§§ 2-3). Why are they called divine, why do they hold *Koorcha*, why are they devoted to the Sun, why are they known as *Vâchakas*?"

Note:—The text runs thus :—

दिव्येति ते कथं प्रोक्ताः किमर्थं कूर्च-धारणं ।
सौरव्रतं किमर्थं तु वाचकास्ते कथं स्मृताः ॥

In Sanskrit कूर्च stands for a bunch of Kusha grass, but we believe that this word is a corrupt reading for *Goorja* (mace), which was carried by the priestly class of the Zoroastrians. सौरव्रत means devotion or vow to सुर *i. e.* the Sun. It would be wrong to say that this word is a bad reading for Ahura, because the word occurs in several passages, and everywhere it is used for the Sun god only. The Magas are called *Vâchakas*, probably on account of the Bâj prayer or ceremony.

* * *

"Why and for what purpose do they chant the Vedas energetically, and what is the measure of the auxiliary part of the bodice?" (§ 25).

* * *

Note:—The last passage is:—अथाहि कंचुकस्यांगं कि प्रमाणं । In the printed book अथाहि कंचुक is one word: it may be अथो हि कंचुक. If we take the whole as one word, the meaning may be that the bodice resembles (*i.e.* is as thin as) the skin of a snake. कंचुक probably refers to the *Sudreh*. The same word is used in the same sense in the 3rd Shloka of the 16 verses said to have been recited before the king Jâdi Rânâ. अंग means the component or auxiliary part. This auxiliary part of the *Sudreh* is *Kusti*, the measure of which is given hereafter. It may be noted that in the 3rd Shloka recited before the king Jâdi Rânâ, the ends of *Kusti* are said to resemble the mouth of an *Ahi* or snake.

* * *

"How do they chant (prayers) to the gods and how do they perform sacrifice? (कथं देवांश्च गायंति यज्ञं कुर्वन्ति ते कथं) (§ 26). What is their Agnihotra; what are known as their 5 festivals? Tell me about all these customs of the Bhojakas (§ 27)".

Hearing these words of Sâmba, the sage of great lustre Krishnadwaipâyana (*i. e.* Vyâsa), the son of Kâli, spoke these noble words:—"O best of Yadus, good, very good; you have asked me good questions; O you, strict in the observance of vows, the customs of the Bhojakas are undoubtedly difficult to be known (*i.e.* are incomprehensible). (§§ 28-29). By the favour of the Sun, I also learnt (them) from the Smriti, and I shall tell you fully, as they are mentioned by Vasishtha (§ 30). O son of Krishna, the customs of the Magas are the best; hear (them). They are well-versed in knowledge, and are devoted to religious and worldly rites (कर्मयोगं समाश्रिता:) (§ 31). All these Rishis are known to observe the rules of conduct with silence and also all these great sages eat with silence, (§ 32). Moreover they the dwellers in Sâka-dwipa are the performers of all the rites, that sages perform. Therefore he who does not desire demerit should eat in silence (§ 33).....They are known to be always devoted to the worship of the Sun (§ 34). They are known as Bhojakas, as they were (the progeny) of the daughters of Bhoja. Just as there are four Vedas known among the Brâhmans—namely Rigveda, Yajurveda, Sâmaveda and Atharvaveda, so O you of good vows, the Vedas of the Magas are also known (§§ 35-36). These Vedas of theirs are known to be false (they are) Veda, Vishvamada, Vidvata and Vahni-rasa (§ 37). Formerly the Prajâpati communicated these Vedas to the Magas" (§ 38).

* * *

Note:—Veda, Vishva-mada &c. are said to be the Vedas or religious works of the Magas.

It is difficult to identify them, but we *guess* that "Veda" was probably *Avesta—vesta—vetta—Veda*; Vishvamada might be Vispard, Vidvat might be Vidævodât and Vahni-rasa, might be Atash Nyâsh. The Sanskrit writers usually gave Hindu appearance to foreign names, as we see in the case of the names of the personages in the Bible referred to in the Bhavishya Purâna.

Could it be that the Smriti referred to by Vyâsa was the "Parsi Smriti" the old manuscript P. S., containing the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas, according to which also the Parsis worshipped the Sun and observed silence, while taking meals? More satisfactory proof is however required

for the identification. The word Smriti occurs again in Chapter 142 §§ 6-7.

* * *

"Just as flowers are arranged by the Brâhmans at the time of worship, just as *Darbha* * grass is arranged among the twice-born in all the rites and sacrifices, and just as these are regarded as holy among them, so also is the case with the Magas—by these verily the chiefs of the Magas obtain success in that island. (§§ 41-42).

They are learned, they belong to best families, they have holy customs, they are attached to sacrifices, they are devoted and they recite Mantras in the commencement (§ 43). O lion of the Yadus, O delighter of the Yadus, the dear Bhojakas recite the Veda Mantra, which is like a missile (§ 43). O best of Yadus, the *Sâvitri* † of all Brâhmans is considered our best, first utterance. (§ 45).

It is but proper, that they eat with silence, humility and freedom from infatuation; what belongs to *Smriti* ‡ is not to be touched (among us, and so) it is not to be touched among them (§ 46).

Although not desiring to live, they live. They go round their dear Sun (idol), and always bow to it with sacrifice, Mantras and rites mentioned in the Veda (§ 47). As the sacrifice of the Magas, who believe in the *Tatva*, is performed with several Mantras, therefore they are known as sacrificers (§ 48).

Just as among the twice-born, *Agni hotra* is well known, so among the Magas, *Adhvahotra* is performed. The name of that sacrifice is *Achcha;** such is undoubtedly the statement of the Rishi (§ 49).

Five times incense is to be offered; this always brings success in the world.

Magas Marry Bhojaka Girls-Brahma Parva, Chapter 141.

Sâmba said:—"The *Avyanga* of the Bhojakas, which you spoke of and which purifies the body, is said to be the bond of devotion. What is their caste"? Vyâsa said:—"When all those sons of Bhojakas were questioned by you, what did they tell you. Tell me that fully" (§§ 1-2), Sâmba said:—"I have told you fully about the habitations of the Bhojakas. You will tell me truly, what is their caste" (§ 3).

Then that glorious one, who was skilful in speech spoke these words:—"O Sâmba, the youths of the Bhojakas, about whom you spoke and heard

* Dr. Wilson says, that the Magas used *Varshma*; we have seen that in Chapter 139-59 the word used is *Varma*=armour. But here it appears that the Magas also used Darbha.

† *Sâvitri* or *Gâyatri* is the verse in Rigveda III—62-10, which runs thus:—तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्॥ "May we attain that excellent glory of Savitar the god. So may he stimulate our prayers." This *Gâyatri* resembles our *Ahunavar* in every respect. *Ahunavar* is also represented as a missile in Vendidad XIX-9. Could the Mantra of the Magas be *Ahunavar*? The evidence is certainly very meagre.

‡ The passage is:—अमोहकेनाथ विमान-भुंजी मौनेन चापि यथा हि युक्तं। न चापि किंचित्स्मृतिकं स्पृशेच्च तच्चापि नाश्नेव च संस्पृशेद्धि॥ What is *Smritika*? Does it refer to Myazda, which is not to be touched by aliens? The reading मृतकं (dead) might be suggested for स्मृतिकं. In that case the meaning would be that the dead body was not to be touched.

* What is this *Achcha* sacrifice, it is difficult to say. In Sanskrit, अच्छ means pure, clear." The sacrifice may be Yasna ceremony. Just as *Matsya* becomes *Machcha*, so, *Yasta* (*Yastya*) might become *Yachcha* (*Achcha*).

are to be known as my Magas.* Eight of these were Sudras, called Madangas."

"Having known this and with a bow to the Sun with the head, ten girls born in the family of Bhoja† were given (in marriage) to ten (youths). And to the Madangas also, eight girls were given. (§§ 4-6). Then O Sâmba, I entered their town. Remember this, that the slave girls (दासकन्या:) were eight and the Bhoja girls were ten —those ten and eight (girls) should be known as (the wives) of those youths. There the twice-born begot those sons on the Bhoja girls; those sons were called Bhojakas and were Brâhmans, named '*the divine.*' Those who were begotten on the slave girls by the *Madangas*, named '*the degraded,*' were really the Madangas who were worshippers of the Sun. They were surrounded by wives and sons in that Brâhmanic town (§§ 7-10). By those Rishis, who had begun to sacrifice according to their own religious duties, the Sun was worshipped in Sâkadwipa with Vedic Mantras of different kinds (§ 11). (These) men, putting on *Avyanga* pray to the Sun. Seeing their *Avyanga*, my curiosity was excited." (§ 12).

Sâmba, once again bowing, said to the son of Satyavati (=Vyâsa) :—"O best of sages, what is this excellent *Avyanga*, which you spoke of. Whence was it produced, why is it considered pure? When is it to be tied, why is it put on, what, Sir, is said to be the measurement of this *Avyanga?*" (§§ 13-14).

Hearing these words of the son of Jâmbavati, Vyâsa, the son of Kâli spoke to Sâmba (thus):— "O lion of the Kurus, their caste is, no doubt, exactly as I told you. I shall also tell you about the characteristic of *Avyanga*; hear, as it is mentioned.

Avyanga or Kusti of Magas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 142.

Vyâsa said:—"The gods, sages, serpents, Gandharvas, numerous celestial damsels, Yakshas, and Rakshasas live in the Sun in different seasons in regular order (§ 1). There (the celestial serpent) Vâsuki hastily raised up a cloud—the chariot of the Sun—and with a bow to the Sun quickly returned to his own place (§ 2). As a favour he gave the Sun an Avyanga, which was celestial, decorated with the heavenly Ganges, and not very red nor very white (§ 3). He tied it lovingly round his body; for this reason, (the Avyanga) which was produced from the body of the king of snakes, was worn by the Sun.* (§ 4). Therefore out of affection for the Sun, a Bhojaka desiring to worship (him) wears it and becomes holy by the performance of ceremonies and by truth (§ 5). If it is worn daily, the Sun becomes pleased. But those of the Bhojakas, the Sun-worshippers who do not wear it, are undoubtedly beyond the circle of the Sun-worshippers, are not venerable and are impure. They are unfit to carry on the duties enjoined by Smriti and are unworthy to worship the Sun (§§ 6-7). If they worship the Sun they fall into the Raurava Hell; they do not smile nor do they stand up, to reap (the fruit) of their prayer" (§ 8).

* * *

* Here is a very important statement for us namely that the Bhojakas and the Magas were identical. The words are used indiscriminately by our author.

† The Magas are said to have married Bhoja or Rajput girls and to have become the Brâhman Bhojakas of Dwârkâ (Bom. Gaz. I, pt. I, p. 142).

* The above story of the Sun receiving Avyanga from the celestial snake may be connected with the legend in the Haoma Yashta § 26 in which it is stated that Ahuramazda first brought for Haoma the Kusti, which was decorated with stars.

....." It (the Avyanga) should be made of one colour, so that it brings about success in actions; in measurement it should be 100 more than 100 (*i. e.* 200) finger breadths (अंगुल). Such an Avyanga is the longest in measurement; one of middle measure should be 20 more (than 100 *i. e.* 120 finger breadths); and the shortest should be 8 more than 100 (*i. e.* 108 finger breadths).* Shorter than this it should not be (§§ 10-11).

Its form was made and produced by Vishva Karmâ (the Almighty); among the Bhojakas it is called *Parasshata.* (§ 12). Although cleansed one does not become pure without it; therefore, O hero, by wearing it, he becomes pure at the time (§ 13), (when) oblations, offerings &c. and all auspicious ceremonies take place (§ 14).....

As it was produced from the body of a serpent, therefore it is called *Avyanga* (अहेरंगात् समुत्पन्नो ह्यव्यंगस्तु ततः स्मृतः ।) (§ 15); because it is a part of this serpent, therefore it is called *Avyanga* (यस्मादस्याद् अहेरंगं अव्यंगस्तेन चोच्यते ।).

.....O best of Yadus, those who worship the Sun without it (*Avyanga*) do not obtain the reward of worship, and they go to hell" (§ 27).

Worship of the Sun Idol—Brahma Parva, Chapter 143.

That wise Sâmba, having thus heard the origin of *Avyanga* from Vyâsa, the son of Satyavati, went away. Then that illustrious Sâmba going again to the hermitage of Nârada of great power, spoke these words to him, "O Rishi, how is the incense-smoke (offered in honour) of the Sun produced by the Bhojakas, and how, O Mahâtmâ, the ablution (स्नान), sipping of water before religious ceremonies (आचमनं) and the giving of venerable offerings (अर्घ्यदानं) (are made by them)" ? Having heard these words of Sâmba, the great sage Nârada spoke (§§ 1-4):— O lion of Kurus, I shall gladly tell you about the incense, smoke and ceremonies (to be offered) to the Sun; also about ablution, water-sipping and gifts of gold. Having sipped water thrice, having taken a bath, and putting on stainless, clean and holy clothes, which should not be moist, he (the Bhojaka) should stay and with pious effort drink, facing the north and east (§§ 5-7). He should not drink while in water, but should do so devoutly, coming out of water; (for) in the water there are the Sun, fire and the goddess mother Sarasvati (§ 8).....Having washed the hands and feet as far as the knees, he should devoutly and gladly drink water which is well-collected three times (§ 10). He should twice do the anointing (of the idol), and thrice the sprinkling (of it) by water, (after) having touched (with water) his own forehead and cavities of the body.

Having sipped water, he should bow to the Sun, and become holy among holy persons. He who performs ceremony without sipping water through infatuation, is a *Nas ika* (=an unbeliever) (§ 12). All his ceremonies here undoubtedly become fruitless, because the Vedas state, that the gods are desirous of purity (§ 13).....Having sipped water, and remaining silent, he should go to the house of god (देवागारं); having covered the breathing organs (mouth and nose) (for preventing the breath from touching holy objects) (श्वासरोधनिमित्तं तु प्राणमाच्छाद्य वाससा), and having covered the head devoutly for turning off water from the hair, he should perform the wor-

*A *Gaja* is thus defined:—साधारण नरांगुल्या त्रिंशदंगुलिको गज: । "A *Gaja* is 30 finger breadths of an ordinary man." Therefore the longest Avyanga is $\frac{200}{30}=6\frac{2}{3}$ *Gajas* long; the middle one is $\frac{120}{30}=4$ *Gajas* long; and the shortest one is $\frac{108}{30}=3\frac{2}{3}$ *Gajas* long. These are just the measurements of our Kusti.

ship of the Sun with holy flowers of various kinds. * (§§ 15-16).

Having recited the Gâyatri with a bow and with devotion, one should offer to the fire, incense with the offering of *guggula* (a fragrant substance). (§ 17). Then having held a handful of flowers in its flame with devotion, it should be placed on the head of the Sun (idol) after having recited the Deva-Mantra (§ 18)..... The times for offering incense are known as five; in the five *Dhûpas* I shall observe the five ceremonies, namely *havana* " &c.... ..... From the appearance (*i. e.* rising) of the Sun, its worship should be performed three times. In the forenoon the sun is half risen; then half the sun is powerful. In the forenoon, (the following) should be offered to the *Heli* (=morning Sun), in the noon to the *Jvalana* (=burning Sun), and in the afternoon to the *Jvalana*(=burning Sun)—(namely) lotus flowers mixed with sandal water, and with fragrant water, and *Kara-vera* tree-leaves and red chalk (§§ 22-24). Having put flower-water mixtures, *Kurunta* flowers and charming fragrance etc. in a copper vessel and having offered incense and offering of *guggul* to the fire, O hero, and having taken an *Arghya* (offering) vessel one should invoke the Sun (thus) (§§ 25-26):— " O you, Sun of the thousand rays, mass of lustre, lord of the world, be merciful to me. O Sun god, accept the offering" (§27). With this (prayer), the invocation should be made; and falling on the knees to the earth, and going near the chest of the Sun (idol), he should give the offering to the Sun (§ 28). "Om, a bow to the Sun, the lord, the Vishva (= god), lying in the sky, the Brâhman, the maker of the worlds, the ruler, the old one of thousands of eyes, a bow to you, to Soma, to Rik, Yajus, and Atharva; (a bow to) the earth, atmosphere, heaven, *Mahar* (fourth world), *Janah* (world of deified mortals), *Tapas* (Tapas-world) and *Satya* (Satya-world). A bow to Brâhman, the Sun, to its top, middle portion and front. * (§§ 29-30).

.....Having offered incense to the Sun with this ceremony, the Bhojaka shall enter the interior house (§ 37). Having entered there, he should offer incense to the idol (प्रतिमायै) with the Mantra thus:—"(this is) ever for *Mihira*, for *Nikshubhâ*. Then a bow to *Rádni* (Sun's wife), then a bow to *Nikshubhâ*; a bow to the one who bears the name *Dandanâyaka* (judge); a bow to *Pingala* (name of an attendant on the Sun); and a bow to the lord *Srausha* and to the lord Garuda. (§§ 38-40).

* * *

Note:—The last passage तथा राज्ञाय स्रौषाय (नमः) is very important. राज्ञाय is a corrupt form; but what is *Srausha*? In the dictionaries and Koshas, the word is not to be found. It is evidently the Zoroastrian angel

* Here the author describes the Sun-worship. Regarding the Sun-worship performed by the Sauras or Sun-worshippers, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says :— " Water is sipped by repeating a formula expressive of a wish, that the Sun, Manyu and Manyupati may protect the adorer from sins. After that three offerings of water with or without the other ingredients are made to the Sun after repeating the Gâyatri, and then the water is whirled round his head by the adorer by repeating the Mantra (That Aditya is Brahman) " (Varshnavism &c. p. 151).

* *The prayer runs thus :—*
ओं नमो भगवते आदित्याय विश्वाय खेशाय ब्रह्मणे लोककर्तृणे। ईशानाय पुराणाय सहस्राक्षाय ते नमः॥ सोमाय ऋग्यजुरथर्वाय॥ ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः ओं महः ओं जनः ओं तपः ओं सत्यं ब्रह्मणे मुण्डे मध्ये पुरतः। आदित्याय नमः॥ As this prayer contains the mystic words भूर्भुवःस्वर् and the syllable ओं it is clear beyond doubt, that this prayer is un-Zoroastrian.

Srausha. This passage shows, that in their worship, the Magas and Bhojakas invoked Hindu as well as Zoroastrian deities.

* * *

Then having made circumambulation, an offering should be made to the gods of the quarters* (§ 40).

If best flowers are not available, then leaves might be offered. If leaves cannot be had, then incense. If incense cannot be had, then water. If none (of these) is available, then one should worship by falling prostrate. If one is unable to fall prostrate, one should worship the Sun in (lit. by) the mind. All these (alternative) ritual offerings are enjoined, when there is no money. He, who has money, should offer all (these) (§§ 51-53). When one offers incense to the Sun with Mantras and ceremonies, the Sun becomes pleased with incense by their recitation (§ 54). He, having devoutly and properly covered his head, nose and mouth, should worship the Sun and should not be lax (in worship) (§ 52).

Derivations of the Words Maga and Bhojaka-Brahma Parva, Chapter 144.

O best of men, those who meditate accurately upon *Omkâra* (= the sound *Om*), which is made up of three letters, and upon that *Omkâra* which consists of three half syllables, who speak the *Makâra* (sound *ma*) which is a consonant, (regarded) as a half syllable, and who ponder over the knowledge contained in the *Makâra*, which is Truth itself—the Makâra being known as the lord god Sun—are known as *Magas* on account of the contemplation and meditation of the Makâra (§§ 23-25).

Because they cause the thousand rayed Sun to be glad (भोजयन्ति) by incense, flowers and offerings, therefore they are called *Bhojakas*. *

An Account of Bhojakas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 145.

Vasudeva said:—"O great sage, best of Brâhmans, give me an account of the Bhojakas as my curiosity is very great" (§ 1). Vyâsa said:—"Learn the account, as I speak." He (Bhojaka) abandons the dress, which is contaminated by bones, which has come into contact with (fleshy) muscles, which is soiled by flesh and blood, which is tied by skin, which is foul smelling, which is spoiled by urine and fæces, which is worn by persons in old age and sorrow, and which is stained by menses. (§§ 2-3).....

Who are Low Bhojakas?—Brahma Parva, Chapter 146.

That Bhojaka, whose wife is a Shudrâ, and who does not wear Avyanga should be undoubtedly known as unworthy to sit in the same row at dinner (§ 12). O eminent lion of Yadus, (in the house of) that Bhojaka worshipper, who worships the Sun with ceremonies, (but) without having bathed and without *Avyanga*, who eats food from the Sudras, who ploughs, † who abandons even the god's idol, who does not perform the ceremonies of the birth of a child &c., who does not recite *Gâyatri* with the *Mantras* at dawn—in that Bhojaka's wicked house, a Brâhman

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* In subsequent passages we read, that a bow should be made to all the gods, to the Rudrâs, to the serpent *Shesha*, to the Daityas, Dânavas and Pishachas, of *Tala*, Sutala, *Pâtâla*, *Atala Vitala*, *Rasâtala* and other hells. This throws abundant light on the religion of the Bhojakas.

* The author gives fanciful derivations of the words *Maga* and *Bhojaka*.

† Ploughing was probably a duty of the low class at the time. According to Bhagvad Gitâ XVIII-44, ploughing (कृषिः) was a duty of the Vaishyas.

who eats, is not pure (§§ 13-15). He who eats without performing worship of the Sun, the manes, gods, (pious) men and beings, is irreligious. He, who is *devoid of Abhyanga* * and *without Shankha* and who wears hairs on the head should be known as the meanest Bhojaka (§§ 16-17).

All (ceremonies) of a Bhojaka, who performs god's worship, Homa offering ceremony, and ablution, who gives offerings to the manes, gives charity and praises the Brâhmans, but who is devoid of *Abhyanga*, become fruitless (§ 18). O lion of Yadus, this *Abhyanga* is known as pure and best, and is under the protection of all gods and Vedas. O best of Yadus, at the end of the *Abhyanga* of the Bhojakas stands *Hari* (*i. e. Vishnu*), in the middle *Brahmâ* of great lustre, and in the front *Shiva*. At its end is Rigveda, in its middle Sâma Veda entirely, and also the best Yajur Veda with Atharva Veda. The three fires and the three worlds (also) stand (there) in (proper) order; such is the sacred *Abhyanga* of the Bhojakas (§§ 19-22). That Bhojaka, who is devoid of it, is a low Bhojaka, he should be known as one unworthy of dining together (§ 23). Offerings of eatables, red chalk (*Kunkuma*) (offered) to the gods and the Sun are pure. Those Bhojakas who give or sell (them) to the Sudras and who take away things belonging to God should be known as the lowest Bhojakas (§ 24).....

Good and Bad Bhojakas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 147.

Those Bhojakas, who do not capture others' wives and treasures and who do not revile the gods, are always my favourites. (§ 3). Those Bhojakas who deal in merchandise and agriculture and (those who) speak ill are all my enemies (§ 4). Those, who take away others' wives, who plough (land), or take up king's service, are to be known as fallen,* those, who eat food (prepared) by Sudras, are my enemies (§ 5).....

Those, whose heads are always shaven, who wear *Abhyanga, who blow* the *Shankha* (शंखं वादयन्ति) are thought to be divine Bhojakas (§ 12). Those who have well washed (their bodies) and are devoid of anger, who always worship me three times, are my dear Bhojakas (§ 13). Those who *observe a fast* on my day (मदीये वारे Sunday) at night, and on the 6th Tithi and on the 7th Tithi and on *Sankramana* day† are to be known as Bhojakas, divine Brâhmanas and my worshippers (§§ 14-15).

O hero, those wise men, who on my day (= Sunday) and also on the 6th Tithi, *do not eat at night* are my favourite Magas (§ 20).

Those Bhojakas who do not make offerings every year on the (death anniversary) day of (their) fathers and mothers are not my favourites (§ 21).....

A Bhojaka is said to be venerable (पूज्य) specially to the *Sauras*. Just as husbands are venerable to wives, and masters to pupils, so the Bhojaka, O Yâdava prince, is venerable to the *Sauras*. (§ 33).....all those *Sauras* who eat the food (prepared by) the Bhojakas without hesitation, are freed from sin and go to the world of the Sun (§ 35).

Saura Religion—Brahma Parva, Chapter 151.

This best and famous Saura religion of all people, who are plunged into the ocean of worldly life, was produced for the well-being of the

* Here instead of the word *Avyanga* we have *Abhyanga* which is also very commonly used.

* A Brâhman should only do the service of the gods, he should not be an agriculturist or a servant of any kind.

† Day on which the Sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another. It must be stated that the Zoroastrians do not blow *Shankha* or observe fasts.

world. (§ 16). Those, who being devoted to the Sun, with quiet minds and with the desire to obtain happiness, serve the great religion, are undoubtedly Sauras. (§ 17). They, who remember the Sun with prayer once or twice or thrice every day, are at once freed from all sins, although committed in seven births. (§ 18).....The essence of the Saura religion is that the Sun's worship is indispensable. That (worship) is mentioned by the Sun to the gods as consisting of 16 parts:—(§ 21) namely, (1) ablution in the morning, (2) muttering prayer, (3) Homa ceremony, (4) worship of god, (5) honouring Brâhmans with devotion, (6-7) worship of the cow and *Ashvattha* tree, (8-9) hearing history and Purâna with devotion and faith, (10) study of the Vedas, (11) love for people, with my worship, (12) faith in prayer, which is worthy of respect, (13) loudly reading books with devotion before me—(a thing) which is always dear to me, (14) hearing my stories always, (15) change in voice and (motions of) eyes and body (स्वरनेत्रांगविक्रिया), (16) always remembering me with prayer and faith. .....Him who worshipfully offers to me leaves, flowers, fruit and water, I do not injure, nor does he injure me * (§§ 21-25, 28).

[We shall now translate some of the passages from Chapter 117, which gives, as it were, a summary of all, that we have noted above].

Religious Customs of Bhojakas—Brahma Parva, Chapter 117.

O Garuda, I (Sun) will tell you what Bhojaka is like. He carries out my orders and is always ready to obey (me) (§ 43). The study of the Vedas is the first thing; then marrying a wife. He always wears Abhyanga and performs three *Savanas* (Soma ceremonies) (§ 44). I am always worshipped *five times* by *night* * and *day*.

A Bhojaka should not perform the consecration of the idol of any other god. He should never do even mine all alone (§ 46). A Bhojaka should never eat all the food, which is offered (to the god); he should not go to a Sudra's house and eat (there) (§ 47). Bhojakas should always with effort abandon the remains of a Sudra's dinners. How can those Bhojakas, who always eat food of the Sudra at his house, obtain in this world the fruit of their worship? (§§ 48-49). A conch should always be blown near me by a Bhojaka (§ 50). When the *Shankha* is blown all of a sudden, my love undoubtedly springs up, (and continues) for 6 months, just like the hearing of Purâna (§ 51). Therefore the *Shankha* should be always sounded by a Bhojaka devoutly; his chief function is making offerings to me. (§ 52). They are said to be Bhojakas, because they do not eat what is not to be eaten; those who (always) think about *Maga* are called *Magadhas*. (नाभोज्यं भुंजते यस्मात् तेनैते भोजकाः मताः। मगं ध्यायंति ते यस्मात्तेन ते मगधा स्मृताः) (§ 53). They always make me enjoy, therefore they are known as Bhojakas (भोजयंति मां नित्यं तेन ते भोजकाः स्मृताः); and the *Abhyanga*, which is the best purifier is worn with devotion (§ 54). A Bhojaka, who is devoid of *Abhyanga* becomes impure without any doubt. He who, O hero, worships me without *Abhyanga*, has no progeny, and I do not love him. The *head should be shaved and a tuft of hair kept with perseverance.* (§§ 55-56). On Sunday at night and on the 6th Tithi and the 7th Tithi and my *Sankramana day*, a Bhojaka should observe fast out of love for me and he should mutter *Gâyatri* loudly thrice a day

* This description of the Saura religion shows that it must be *Mithra worship*, which was spread far and wide a few centuries after Christ.

* The Zoroastrians do not worship the Sun at night.

before me. (§ 58). Having covered his mouth with effort and having abandoned silence and anger with perseverance, he should worship me (§ 59). He, who through avarice or greed gives the holy remains of my offerings to Sudras and Vaishyas, verily goes to hell (§ 60). That wicked-souled Bhojaka, who through avarice gives my flowers to another, without placing them on me, should be known as my great enemy; he is not fit to worship me. The remains of my offerings should be given to (holy) men like Brâhmans (§ 61-62). He should always eat things offered to me (§ 63). He who takes away flowers from my body should immediately throw them into water; my offering should not be given to another..... Whatever fragrant thing or flower has touched my body should never be given to Vaishyas or Sudras; he should take it himself; and should not sell it on any account (§ 66). He who without placing flowers on me, gives them in the world, verily goes to hell (§ 67).

* * *

Conclusion.

None of the Purânas was written before 400 A. D. The date of Bhavishya Purâna cannot be determined accurately, but it could not be earlier than 400 A. D. What is known as the Bhavishya Mahâ Purâna clearly appears to be an extension of the old Purâna, belonging to very recent times; because, in the *Pratisarga Parva* there are chapters, which contain interesting particulars about Adam, Noah, Christ, Mahomed, Taimurlang, Kabir, Nânak and even Akbar.

Considering all the evidence before us, we conclude that the Magas were not *pucca* Zoroastrians. They appear to have been the priests of the Mithra worship of about the 5th or 6th century A. D., and were devoted to the worship of the Sun-idol. Their religion was a mixture of Hinduism and Zoroastrianism and in course of time they were incorporated into the Hindu caste.

* * *

APPENDIX. *

Criticism on Dr. Spooner's Paper

Re:

A Zoroastrian Period of Indian History.

Dr. D. B. Spooner who was in charge of the excavations at Patliputra wrote an important paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in A. D. 1915. The paper deals with a novel but interesting theory about what he terms "a Zoroastrian period of Indian History" which we propose to discuss.

In the very beginning we must say that in spite of our best efforts to fall in with the views of Dr. Spooner, we could not in our heart of hearts bring ourselves round to accept his theory, which however fascinating and agreeable it appeared to the Parsi community, failed to appeal to us, as it was inconsistent with the facts and circumstances we had known from the histories of different religions. We need hardly say that although we differ from the worthy Doctor on several points, still we thoroughly appreciate and sincerely admire the zeal and enthusiasm which inspired him in his arguments.

Patliputra was an ancient city, the capital of Magadha or South Behar. It was the capital of Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty (320 to 290 B. C.). † It was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sona, and has been identified with the modern Patna. Exception was taken to this identification, as Patna is not situated near the confluence of the above said rivers. This however has been explained by a change in the bed of the river Sona, which is established on best geographical evidence. (Max Muller's Ancient Sk. Literature, p. 280; Vincent Smith's Early History of India, p. 114).

Patliputra * was also called Kusumpura, Kusumadhvaja and Pushpapura, (Dutt's Anc. India Vol. II, p. 121; V. Smith's Early Hist. p. 31), and was known as Palibothra in the Classical writings.

Megasthenes, who was the ambassador sent by Seleukos Nikator † to the court of Sandrokottos, that is, Chandragupta, was the author of a book on India. He was an acute observer and was of an inquisitive turn of mind. In this book he has given a faithful account of what fell under his observation. This work is lost, but numerous fragments from it have been preserved by Strabo, Arrian, Pliny and others. Megasthenes describes Palibothra as being the Capital in those days. The city was a long narrow parallelogram about 80 stadia or 9·2 miles long (stadium = 202½ yards), and 15 stadia or 1.72 miles wide, and was surrounded by a ditch 600 feet wide and 30 cubits deep. Its walls were adorned with 570 towers and 64 gates. (Mc. Crindle's Anc. India, pp. 204-8; Smith's Early Hist. of India, p. 114, and Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I; p. 217, Cunningham's Anc. Geography of India, p. 452).

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* As stated at page 4, it was at first intended to reserve the discussion on Dr. Spooner's paper for a separate book, but as his theory and the several points he has urged in favour thereof are intimately connected with the subject matter of this book, it was at the suggestion of a friend, thought advisable to insert our criticism here.

† According to Max Muller 315 to 291 B. C. (S. B. E. Vol. X Pt. I, Introd. p. 89)

* Bhâsha in his play, Act I. twice mentions Pataliputra as a capital of Darsaka, who ruled till 464 B C. Darsaka was succeeded by his son Udayâshva. who in 460 B. C. built Kusumapura–"the City of Gardens" now Bankipore. (Hindu History by A. K. Mozumdar, pp. 321-322) (Archæological Survey of Westren India Vol. 5, p. 43).

† One of Alexander's great generals, and king of Syria, who sent Megasthenes in 300 B. C. to Chandragupta (Rapson's Anc. India, p. 174.)

Asoka (260 to 222 B. C.) * who was the grandson of Chandragupta built an outer masonry wall round this famous city and beautified it with innumerable stone buildings. A great portion of this city and the remains of the palace of Asoka, still lie buried under the houses and fields of the village of Kumrahâr on the south side of the railway between Patna and Bankipur at a depth of from 10 to 20 feet. (Encycl. Bri. 11th Ed. XX, p. 929; V. Smith's Hist. of India, p. 114).

Excavations at Patliputra.

The first excavations of Patliputra were made about 25 years ago under the supervision of Colonel Waddell, and Mr. P. C. Mukherji. The second excavations were commenced in the beginning of 1913 by the Archæological Department of the Government of India under Dr. Spooner. For this purpose the late Sir Ratan Tata of Bombay had made a munificent donation of Rs. 20,000 every year for a number of years.

While the excavations were being carried on, Dr. Spooner came across one big column and fragments of polished pillars and other relics, from which he concluded that there must have been a vast pillared hall on the spot. From further materials he concluded, that this hall was "square with stone columns arranged in square bays over the entire area, placed at distances of 15 feet or 10 Mauryan cubits each from each." Now as it is well known, that the edicts of Asoka are after the style of the cuniform inscriptions of Darius Hystapes, and as the excavated columns had the peculiar Persian polish, it was inferred that the hall at Patliputra closely resembled, nay it was almost a copy of the throne room of Darius, the hall of a hundred columns at Persepolis. Further excavations led Dr. Spooner to believe, that not only the hall but its surroundings also showed close likeness of the Achæmenian prototype, and that here "we had a conscious Mauryan copy of Persepolis."

Dr. Spooner being a great Archæologist, we as laymen have nothing to say against his archæological conclusions. But it is the literary evidence, which is of the utmost importance for us, because on this evidence the learned Doctor bases his inference as regards the "Zoroastrian period of Indian History."

Dr. Spooner observes:—"Asoka has hitherto been credited with having introduced the use of stone, and Greeks have shared with Persians the hononr of inspiring him." But he asks: "Is there any trace of Greek influence at Chandragupta's court in all the records of Megasthenes?"

We know that the Greeks as well as the Persians had assisted Chandragupta in his wars against the last monarch of Magadha, namely Dhana Nandana and it appears clear, that the connection of the Greeks must be as close as that of the Persians. The very fact that Megasthenes was *frequently* sent as an ambassador to Chandragupta proves this.* (Max Muller's Anc. Sk. Literature, p. 277; McCrindle's Anc. India, p. 88). As we shall see later on, the Greeks were as well famous for their architectural buildings as the Persians. But in spite of this it might be, that the Mauryan hall was built after the design of the Persepolitan hall by some Persians at the court of Chandragupta or his successors.

Evidence of Mahabharata and Asura Maya.

Let us now consider the literary evidence. Prof. Jacobi's suggestion

* Dutt's Anc. Ind. I, p. 24; and S. B. E. X. Pt. I, Intro. p. 39. Dr. Bhandarkar in his Early Hist. of Deccan (p. 14) gives 268 to 229 B. C.

* Daimachus was sent as an ambassador by Antiochus I. (280-261 B C) and Dionysius by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) (See Rapson's Anc. India, pp. 103-4)

that the Mahâbhârata might throw some light on the question, drew the attention of Dr. Spooner to a passage in Hopkins' Great Epic (p. 391). In this passage Hopkins remarks, that "the architecture, which is of stone and metal, is attributed in all the more important building operations to the demon Asura, or Dânava Maya who by his magic power builds such huge buildings as are described, immense moated palaces with arches and a roof supported by a thousand columns."

Dr. Spooner supposes, that Asura Maya is the exact equivalent of Ahura Mazda, and that his association with architectural buildings is in entire accord with the language of the inscription on the great Porch of Xerxes, wherein the emperor said, that "he made the portal and many other noble monuments in Parsa by the grace of Ormuzd." (J. R. A .S. 1915, p. 444).

Although *Ahura* is the exact equivalent of *Asura*, still *Mazda* cannot be equated with *Maya*, as Dr. Spooner has himself acknowledged. But it is stated that an ordinary Indian would not care to follow the rules of philology and would roughly following the sound, equate Ahura Mazda with Asura Maja and then Asura Maya. This argument is reasonable, but we must not forget, that ever since the later times of the Rigveda, the word Asura had come to be used in a bad sense and a Hindu writer, such as that of Mahabharata could hardly be expected to use a bad word for the Hindu deity or divine personage connected with architecture.

Dr. Spooner quotes a few passages from the sacred book of Mahâbhârata in support of his argument. He lays great stress upon the following passages, wherein Asura Maya thus speaks about himself:—

अहं हि विश्मकर्मा दानवानां महाकविः।.....
दानवानां पुरा पार्थ प्रासादा हि मया कृताः।

The passages are translated thus:-

"For I am the Creator, the great Kavi of the Dânavas...O Pârtha (=Arjuna) aforetime the palaces of the Dânavas were wrought by me."

In this translation Dr. Spooner renders विश्वकर्मा as the "Creator" but this is not correct, as we shall see hereafter. The learned Doctor says, that "Asura Maya was the Creator, and that Maya could not state his identity with Ormuzd in clearer terms . . . . . Neither in the epitaph on the Porch of Xerxes nor in Persia generally was Ahura Mazda looked upon, in Achæmenian times as the literal builder. But neither need we suppose, that in the days of the Mauryas, the Asura Maya was so looked upon either. The conception of the Asura Maya as an active architect is an essentially later development."

Our objection is that, even if we take विश्वकर्मा in the sense of the Creator, still the parallelism between the passages of the Mahâbhârata and the inscription of Xerxes, which Dr. Spooner refers to, fails. because in the Sanskrit passage the Creator is represented as building the palaces, whereas in the Persian inscription the palaces were wrought not by Ahura Mazda himself but by the grace of Ahura Mazda.

Danavas.

The other objection, to the argument of Dr. Spooner is the meaning of the word Dânava. We are told that the Sanskrit word for Venus being Asura-guru (teacher of the Asuras), and also Dânava-pujita (one worshipped by the Dânava), the Dânavas were identical with the Asuras.

It is not difficult to see that the fallacy consists in this, that although some of the Asuras were Ahurians or believers in Ahura Mazda, all* were not and that Dânavas were

* For example, Gayasura, Bânâsura, Jatâsura, Vâtâpi-asura, Illavasura could not be Persian names.

probably those Asuras, * who did not believe in Ahura Mazda. It is an important question to determine who these Dânavas were; and herein the knowledge both of Avesta and Sanskrit is quite essential.

In two passages in the Fravardin Yasht (Yt. XIII. 37, 38) we see, that the Dânus were the enemies of Zoroastrians; for we are told that "where the powerful warriors raise a war against the Dânus, there the Farohars go to help the warriors; there they break off the strength of the Turâni Dânus; there they remove the wickednesses of the Turâni Dânus." Now as Dr. Geiger says, the word Dânu is also found in the Rigveda, as well as Dânava, *another form of it*. (Civilisation of Eastern Indians Dastur Darab Sanjana's Tr. Vol. I p. 34). In several passages of the Rigveda (IV, 30, 7; II, 11, 13) the Dânus are represented as the enemies of the Vedic people.

Even in the Atharva Veda † and Mahâbhârata we see, that the Dânavas were treated as enemies. According to Dr. Haug both in the Avesta (Yt. V. 73.) and the Veda (Av. IV. 24-2), the Dânavas were the enemies with whom wars were waged.

We thus see that the Dânavas were enemies of those who believed in Ahura Mazda. If then Asura Maya was the great god of the Dânavas, he could not be identical with Ahura Mazda.

References about Asura Maya in Mahabharata.

Dr. Spooner has quoted some passages from the Mahâbhârata and put certain interpretation upon them. To test the correctness of this interpretation, it is quite essential to quote other passages. In Chapter 228 of the Adi Parva of the Mahâbhârata (called Maya-darshana Parva), we are told, that while the Khandava forest was being burnt, an Asura, named Maya came out of the dwelling of Takshaka and begged Arjuna to protect him. The words of the author are:—

.....तथासुरं मयं नाम तक्षकस्य निवेशनात् ॥
विप्र द्रवंतं सहसा ददर्श मधुसूदनः । तं अग्निः प्रार्थयामास दिधक्षुर्वातसारथिः ॥ शरीरवान् जटीभूत्वा नदन् इव बलाहकः । विज्ञाय दानवेंद्राणां मयं वै शिल्पिनाम् वरम् ॥ जिघांसुर्वासुदेवस्तं चक्रं उद्यम्यधिष्ठितः । (§§ 39–42).

"Then Madhu-sudana (Krishna) saw an Asura named Maya, running away quickly from the dwelling of Takshaka. Then Fire, with wind for its charioteer, wanted to burn him. So he assumed a body; and putting on matted hair, he thundered like a cloud. Knowing that he was Maya, who was the *best of the chief Dânavas* and the *best of architects*, Vâsudeva (Krishna) stood with a Chakra lifted up.

In the *Sabhâ Parva*, which is the second book of the Mahâbhârata, and from which Dr. Spooner has quoted passages to form his theory, Maya tells Arjuna, that as he wants to return his obligation, Arjuna should say what he wishes him to do. Maya says:—अहं हि विश्वकर्मा वै दानवानां महाकविः । सोऽहं वै त्वत्कृते कर्तुमकिंचिद् इच्छामि (§ 6) "I am the all-doer, a great sage of the Dânavas. O, Pândava, I desire to do something for thy sake."

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* An Asura is thus defined in the Chhândogya Upanishada VIII-8-5 :—
तस्माद् अपि अद्य इह अददानं अश्रद्दधानं अयजमानं आहुः असुरो बत इति.
"Hence even at this day, one who does not give (in charity), or has no faith, or does not sacrifice, is said to be an Asura." Then the writer proceeds :—"They (the Asuras) adorn the bodies of the dead with gifts, with raiment and jewels, and imagine that by this means they shall attain the world to come." (See Muir's Sanskrit Texts II. p. 396). According to the Shatapatha Brahmana XIII-8 1-5 the Asuras constructed round graves. These Asuras could not be Zoroastrians.

Nishambhu and Hayagriva were names of Dânavas, which are not Persian names.

† Atharva Veda X-6-10, and M. Bh. Vana Parva Chapters 94 §§ 7-11, 100 §§ 8-4, 154 § 23 &c.

Then Arjuna answers:—न चापि तव संकल्पं मोघं इच्छामि दानव। कृष्णस्य क्रियतां किंचित् तथा प्रतिकृतं मयि ॥ (§ 7). "O *Dânava*, I do not desire to frustrate your intentions; do something for Krishna, so that I shall consider myself requited." In this last verse we clearly see, that Maya is called a Dânava. Similarly in the Adi Parva (Chap. 234 § 18), * Maya is called दानवः मयः "Maya Dânava." Now if Ahura Mazda was the great Kavi (*i. e.* great god) of the Dânavas, who, according to Dr Spooner, were Zoroastrians, would it not be absurd to call Ahura Mazda a Dânava that is a human being, and not a god?

Let us proceed. Krishna says to Maya:—

यदि च त्वं कर्तुकामोऽसि प्रियं शिल्पवतां वर। धर्मराजस्य दैतेय यादृशीं इह मन्यसे ॥ यां कृतां नानुकुर्वंति मानवाः प्रेक्ष्यधिष्ठिताः। मनुष्यलोके सकले तादृशीं कुरु वै सभाम् ॥ (§§ 11-12.) "O best of architects, if you desire to do me a good turn, then O Daitya (=Dânava), build such a hall for Yudhishthira, that no one in the whole world will be able to imitate it." Here again Maya is called "the best of architects" and he is to build the palace for Yudhishthira.

Further up we read:—

प्रतिगृह्य तु तद्वाक्यं संप्रहृष्टो मयस्तदा। विमानप्रतिमां चक्रे पांडवस्य शुभाम् सभाम् ॥

(§ 15). "Then Maya, who was pleased, accepted his word, and made Pândava's beautiful hall of the form of a balloon." After a couple of verses, the author informs us, that "Maya began to build the palace-hall *for the Pândavas.*" (§ 18). The statement, that the hall was built for Yudhishthira or the Pândavas (that is, Yudhishthira and his brothers), is very important. For, if this hall was the same as that of the Mauryas, it might follow that the Mauryas were the Pândavas—and this conclusion very few scholars will be prepared to accept.

The author further tells us that:—

अभिप्रायेण पार्थानां कृष्णस्य च महात्मनः। पुण्येऽहनि महातेजाः कृतकौतुकमंगलः ॥ तर्पयित्वा द्विजश्रेष्ठान् पायसेन सहस्रशः। धनं बहुविधं दत्वा तेभ्यः एव च वीर्यवान् ॥ सर्वर्तुगुणसंपन्नां दिव्यरूपां मनोरमां। दशकिष्कुसहस्रां तां मापयामास सर्वतः ॥

(§§ 19-21). "According to the intention of the Pândavas and the high-minded Krishna, the illustrious (Maya) did auspicious acts. Then having satisfied thousands of best Brâhmanas with (sweet) drink and giving them wealth of various kinds, that strong one measured ground, 10,000 arms square, which was beautiful, heaven-like and full of merits in all seasons." Further up we are told that the throne-hall was built in 14 months.

Thus then the Sabhá Parva clearly shows that Asura Maya was a human being. No doubt, as we shall presently see, Maya was endowed with supernatural powers in much later times; but that has happened in the case of all illustrious persons.*

Asura Maya in Katha-Sarit-Sagara.

Now let us turn for a moment to Kathâ-Sarit-sâgara—a work written by Sonadeva in the 12th century† A. D., from which Dr. Spooner also quotes a phrase. We read in that book, as under:—"There is a mighty Asura of the name Maya, famous in

* See also Chap. 48 § 8 where he is also called Dânava.

* In the Râmâyana Râma is depicted as a man, but in the Mahâbhârata he appears as an incarnation of Vishnu. (R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races, p. 116). Through the performance of good deeds the Ribhus obtained divinity. They prove the admission at an early date of the doctrine that men might become divinities (Wilson's Rv. IV-35 3, 8). The Andhra King Royadoo is to-day worshipped as a god at Siccacollum on the river Krishna. (Muir's Sk. Texts II-432).

† R. C. Dutt's Anc. India Vol. II, p. 299. Max Muller's Anc. India p 248.

the three worlds. And he . . . fled to Shiva as his protector. Shiva, having promised him security, he built the palace of Indra. But the Daityas were angry with him, affirming that he had become a partizan of the gods." *

It will be seen from the above passage that *Maya was a worshipper of the god Shiva.* This latter fact is corroborated by another passage, where *Maya advises the king Chandraprabhâ to perform a great sacrifice in honour of Shiva.* (Tr. by Towney Vol. I. p. 416),

The hermit Kashyapa speaks to Maya as a human being when he says :—"My son, thou didst remain undaunted, even when Indra lifted up his weapon to strike, therefore thou shalt remain unharmed by the plagues of *sickness* and *old age*" (Vol. I. p. 434).

Maya was well versed in the art of magic; for we read that "he recited the Sânkhya and the Yoga doctrine with its secrets and taught the king the magic art of entering another body (Vol. I. p. 418).

In some places we find that Maya was endowed with supernatural powers. We read, for instance, that Maya took leave of the king and quickly carried off to Pâtâla, Suryaprabhâh and his ministers.....There he taught the prince ascetic practices of such a kind, that by means of them, the prince and his ministers quickly acquired the sciences. And he taught him also the art of providing himself with magic chariots." (Vol I. p. 407).

The fact, that Asura Maya had built the assembly hall of Yudhishthira, is also mentioned in the Kâtha-sarit-Sâgara, where we read: "There is a great Asura Maya by name, an incarnation of Vishvarkarman, who made the assembly hall of Yudhishthira" (Vol I. p. 310).

* Translation by Towney I. p. 258.

Finally, we are told in several places, that Maya was "the king of the Dânavas (Vol I. pp. 414, 421) and "the excellent Dânava."

We thus see, that the Kathâ-sarit sâgara completely corroborates the story of Mahâbhârata and strengthens our conclusion about Maya being a human personage with this difference, that in some places he is represented as being possessed of miraculous powers. He was probably a foreigner and had subsequently become a worshipper of Shiva.

There are references to Maya in the Surya Siddhânta also, according to which some time before the end of the Krita age, Maya practised the most difficult penance and obtained knowledge of astronomy.

Probable Date of Asura Maya.

Now let us for a moment consider the question of dates. We admit, that the dates of all ancient works cannot be determined with accuracy. The early portions of the Mahâbhârata are supposed to belong to B. C. 1000 to 800, and the later interpolations to 400 B. C.* (Bom. Gazetteer Vol. I. pt. I. p. 11; Dutt's Anc. India Vol I. p. 120 ff). The latest date assigned to the Rânâyava by Gorresio is 950 B. C. Therefore, since the story of Maya is mentined in these Epics, the conclusion is that Maya may have lived before 400 B. C. But this conclusion may not be readily accepted, specially because R. Chanda and Vaidya assign the date 200 B. C. and 100 B. C. respectively to the present form of the Mahâbhârata. We have, however, more substantial ground to go upon.

The name of the important personages of the Mahâbhârata–such as

* Mr. Ramâprasad Chandra states that the M. Bh. was reduced to its present form about 200 B.C. (Indo-Aryan Races, p. 116). It is however mentioned in Ashvalâyan's Grihya Sutras and in Panini VI-2-38 idem p. 28).

Yudhishthira, Arjuna, Bhima, Subhadrâ &c. are distinctly mentioned in Pânini's grammar, which according to Prof. Max Muller belonged to 400 B. C., and according to Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar 800 B. C. (Anc. Sk. Lit. p 44. B. R. A. J. 1885 p. 341). Therefore, Yudhishthira must have lived before 400 B. C.* at the latest. Now if Asura Maya built the palace for Yudhishthira, as we gather from the old traditions in the Mahâbhârata and Kathâ-sarit-sagara, the conclusion is that Maya did so before 400 B. C. ——a date long prior to the date of the Mauryan kings. According to some later Hindu writers, as will be seen hereafter, Maya was a Yavana or Greek. If so, he could not be the actual builder of the palace of Yudhishthira and must therefore be an architect of later times. But in our opinion the writer who called Maya a *Yavana* used that word in the sense of a *foreigner*, while later writers took it in the sense of a person of the Greek nationality.

Why is Asura called Vishva-Karma?

We have seen that Maya was an architect, an astronomer, a magician and an expert in ascetic practices, and as the Kathâ-sarit-sâgara says "he was a treasure house of all sciences (Vol I. p. 432). Therefore he might well be called *Vishva-karma* "a man of all works."

This is also one of the senses of that word in the Rigveda (X.-166-4). Asura Maya was not विश्वकर्मा the "Creator," he was simply an "all-doer." He was not a *Kavi* or "god" of the Dânavas, he was merely a "sage" of the Dânavas, a "king of the Dânavas," an "excellent Dânava."

* According to R. Shamshashtri, Yudhishthira died in 1260 B. C. (Gavam Ayanam p. 153). Varaha Mihira says in Brihat Samhita (XIII-3) that the Great Bear was in Maghâ, when that king ruled, that is in B. C. 2448 (Dr. Kern's translation J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. I p. 79).

Patliputra built by Magic (!)

Dr. Spooner refers to Kathâ-Sarit-Sâgara, in which occurs the phrase मायार्चितं पाटलिपुत्रं. According to the learned Doctor this signifies, that Patliputra was built by magic; and magic was the peculiar property of the Zoroastrian Magians. We regret we cannot agree to this. The other nations knew magic as well as the Magi. The Hindus practised magic. For example it is stated that Maricha the friend of Râvana, turned himself by his magic power into a golden deer, which carried away Sita * (Griffith's Râmayana, p. 277).

Therefore the phrase मायार्चितं पाटलिपुत्रं does not carry us further than the fact, that Patliputra was built by the Dânavas, who were expert in magic.

We are inclined to believe, that the description of Patliputra being built by magic, is metaphorical. Fa Hian the Chinese traveller uses a similar metaphor, when he says about Patliputra, that:—"In the city is the royal palace, the different parts of which Asoka commissioned the *genii* to construct, by piling up the stones. The walls, door-ways and sculptured designs are no human work." (Dutt's Anc. Hist. Vol. I p. 58). The metaphor is not difficult to understand. We have seen, that *at one time* the Dânavas were the enemies of the Indian Aryans. But the word "Dânavas" was also used in its extended sense of the "enemies of gods," † or "demons," as we clearly

* The Brâhmana Indradatta passed into the body of the dead king Nanda of Magadha and made grants to Brâhmans out of the dead king's mouth. Ammianus Marcellinus (A. D. 380) heard that the Brâhmans moved in the air among the altars; in the early sixth century the Chinese traveller Sung-Yun found, under Brahman spells a dragon turned into a man; he was himself cured of sickness by charms (For authorities see Bom. Gaz. Vol. 9, p. 437).

† See Geiger's C. E. I. tr. by Dr. Darab Sanjana I. p. 84; Wilson's Vishnu Purâna p. 72, Sacred Books of Marathas IX p. 77 and M. Bh. XII, 185-122.

see in the Mahâbhârata in the Vishnu Purâna, and in the Garuda Purâna.

Now the descriptions of the palaces referred to in the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana &c. shows that it was the usual practice to attribute the erection of large magnificent palaces of later times to Dânavas or demons. We can thus easily understand why the Chinese traveller Fa Hian and also Houen Tsang * said that the buildings were built by genii.

Asura Maya according to Weber.

Let us now see, what European scholars have to say about the identification of Asura Maya and his nationality. On of the inscriptions of Asoka gives the clue. Therein we read :—

अत अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा । पलं चा तेना अंतियोगेना चतालि लाजाने तुलमय नाम, अंतेकिने नाम, मका नाम, अलिक्यशुदले नाम ॥

(See Wilson's Rock Inscriptions, p. 73).†

"Where the King of the Yonas (Greeks), Antiyoka by name dwells and beyond this Antiyoka (dwell) the four kings, Turamaya by name, Antikina by name, Maka by name, and Alikasudara ‡ by name."

Scholars have identified the king Turamaya mentioned in the inscription with Ptolemy of Egypt who ruled from 285 B. C. to 247 B. C. (Mc. Crindle's Anc. India 374, 52; Dutt's Anc. India II-12 ff). Thus then we see that the name Ptolemy assumed the form "Turamaya"* into Pali.

Prof. Weber thinks that "Asura Maya was Turamaya or Ptolemaios of the Greeks" (Hist of Indian Lit. pp. 253, 274). Burgess in his Surya Sidhânta says, that "this conjecture of Weber is powerfully supported by the fact, that Al-Biruni ascribes the Pâulica Sidhânta.....to Paulus-al-Yunâni, Paulus the Greek." But the question is whether Ptolemy Philadelphus or his predecessor or successor known as Ptolemy or any other Ptolemy is referred to in the passage of the Mâhâbhârata, which we are considering. It is true that Ptolemy, who was called the son of Lagos, but who was in reality the son of Phillip was one of the generals appointed by Alexander in his Indian conquests. This Ptolemy may have come into close contact with the Indians. But we have no definite evidence to say, who was the architect of the palaces.

Were the Palaces Built by Greeks or Persians ?

The next question is, whether the palaces were built by some architect belonging to the Greek nationality. We must say, that there is a considerable difference of opinion among the scholars about the influence exercised by Greek architecture over India. We give below the opinions of some. Vincent Smith says, that "there is no evidence, that Greek

* These travellers came to India ia A. D. 399–413 and 629-645 respectively (Cunningham's Anc. Geography pp. VIII, IX).

† The 13th Edict at Shâhbâzgiri gives the text in full thus :—
यत्र अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम (Epigraphia Indica II. p. 468).

The inscriptions of Asoka are found at Girnar near Junâgad in Kathiawar. at Dauli in Kattak, at Kapurdigiri or Shâhbazgiri in Afghanistan, at Jangad near Ganjam in the Northern Circars, and at Khalsi, near Masuri, in the Himalayas (B. B. R. A. S. XVI, p. 308).

‡ These sovereigns were :—(1) Antiochus II of Syria (B. C. 261–246), (2) Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (B. C. 285–247), (3) Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon (B. C. 277–239), (4) Magas of Cyrene (B. C. 285–259) and (5) Alexander of Epirus (B. C. 272). (See Rapson's Anc. India p. 21). The dates of the deaths of these kings as given by Lassen differ somewhat (See Epigraphia Indica II, p. 471).

* स् in Sanskrit becomes त् in Pali, thus नास्ति=णत्थि. Similarly dropping अ the word असुर becomes तुर into Pali.

architecture was introduced into India....The earliest known example of Indo-Greek sculpture belongs to the reign of Azes (50 B. C.)" (Early Hist. pp. 212-213), Weber informs that in the most ancient edifices, the presence of Greek influence is unmistakable (Hist. of Indian Lit. p. 274). Sir John Marshall observes that the columns and capitals of Asoka were wrought by Greco-Persian masons (J. R. A. S. 1915 p. 71). Major-General Cunningham, noting a few specimens of the *Indo-Persian Style* of architecture, which according to him belonged to the two centuries between 50 B. C. and 150 A. D., says :—"As the different styles of Greek architecture must have been introduced into the Kabul valley and the districts lying along the Indus as early as B. C. 200, it is a source of great disappointment to me, that no specimen of Indo-Grecian architecture has been discovered, to which I can assign an earlier date than about 80 B.C." (Archæological Survey Vol. V, pp. 185-89). R. C Dutt concludes, that the Greek influence greatly modified the style of architecture of Gândhâr Vihâras or monasteries, and many capitals and figures discovered in the Punjab are distinctly Greek in style (Anc. India II, p. 80).

Asoka has been credited with having introduced the use of stone for buildings, and it is believed by some scholars, that in this he was inspired by the Greeks, and by other scholars, that he was inspired by the Persians. Sir John Marshall is of former opinion, Dr. Spooner holds the latter opinion.

In the face of this contradictory evidence it would not be safe to assert, that the palaces of the Mahâbhârata were built under the supervision of a Greek architect.

Palaces in Mahabharata.

Now we might well ask, whether there is anything in the passages of the Mahâbhârata to show, that the palaces referred to therein were the palaces of Patliputra. We answer, that there is no such proof. *

On the contrary the proof is against such a theory. From several passages in the Mahâbhârata, we find that the Sabhâ or hall was built in Indraprastha† and not in Patliputra. Indraprastha has been identified with the modern Inderpat near Delhi; it stood on the left bank of the Yamunâ while Delhi stands on the right, whereas, as we have already seen, Patliputra was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sona. (See M. Bh. Sabhâ Parva Chapter I-21, II-1, XXII-19, 20). Thus these two cities were totally distinct cities, and therefore the palaces in them were not identical.

Dr. Spooner quotes verses from the Mahâbhârata to show, that Maya built in former times splendid palaces, pavilions, pleasure gardens, fancy ponds &c. for the Dânavas. These Dânavas (or Asuras, as they were called) were not the aboriginal tribes of India. There is so specific evidence, that the early Hindus had such buildings. Passages quoted by Curtius and Strabo from Megasthenes show that we come across similar buildings, pavilions, gardens, ponds &c. belonging to the Court of Chandragupta. Therefore Dr. Spooner would identify the palaces &c. mentioned in the Mahâbhârata with those of Chandragupta at Patliputra.

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* Unless it is conciusively proved, that all the passages relating to the Sabhâ (or Hall) were later interpolations. We know that some scholars hold this opinion but the fact that both the Mahâbhârata and the Kathâsarit-sâgara distinctly mention, that the Hall was built by Maya *for Yudhishthira* points to a deep-rooted tradition in olden times. Mr. Vaidya has, in his book, given a list of the Chapters which appear to him to be later interpolations by Sauti the third editor of the Mahâbharata (between 300 and 200 B.C.) but the chapters relating to the Sabhâ are not included in the list (See Vaidya's Mahâbhârata pp. 193, 196).

† Its another name was Khândavaprastha. It was the capital of Yudhisthira and the Pandavas. See Vaidya's Mahâbhârata p. 129.

We are sorry, we cannot readily accept this conclusion. In the Adi Parva (Chapter 207) of the Mahâbhârata, there is a beautiful description of the town, Indraprastha, which so closely resembles that of Patliputra given by Megasthenes, that we shall quote a few stray passages from the Chapter referred to there.

सागरस्य प्रतिरूपाभिः परिखाभिरलंकृतं । प्राकारेण च संपन्नं दिव्यमाक्रम्य तिष्ठता ॥ द्विपक्षगरूडप्रख्यैः द्वारैः सौधैश्च शोभितं । गुप्तं अभ्रचयप्रख्यैः गोपुरैः मंदरोपमैः ॥ (30-31).

"It was adorned with a ditch as deep as the sea, and was surrounded by a rampart wall, which reached the skies. It shone with doors as beautiful as the wings of a *garuda* bird, and with tall houses; it was closed by gates, which reached the sky and resembled Mandara mountain."

विरोचमानं विविधैः पांडुरैर्भवनोत्तमैः । तत् त्रिविष्टपसंकाशं इंद्रप्रस्थं व्यरोचत ॥ .....तत्र रम्ये शिवे देशे कौरवस्य निवेशनम् ॥ (36-37)

"It was shining with several, best, white mansions. It resembled heaven and was called Indraprastha . . . . There in that delightful blessed region, there was the palace of the Kaurava."

सर्व-शिल्पविदस्तत्र वासाय अभ्यागमंस्तदा । उद्यानानि च रम्याणि नगरस्य समन्ततः ॥ (§ 39) गृहैः आदर्शमलैः विविधैश्च लतागृहैः ॥ मनोहरैश्चित्रगृहैस्तथा अजगतिपर्वतैः ॥ (§§ 45-46) रम्याश्च विविधास्तत्र पुष्करिण्यो वनावृताः । तडागानि च रम्याणि वृहंति सुबहूनि च ॥ (§ 48)

"There all architects came to reside. On all sides of the town, there were delightful *gardens*. It shone with *houses*, as pure as looking-glasses, with vine *pavilions* of various kinds, with pleasant picture-houses and *artificial mounds*. Beautiful *lotus-ponds* of various kinds, covered over with lotuses were there; and (also) many large and delightful lakes."

It will thus be seen, that the above description of the town Indraprastha is almost the same as that of Patliputra. In the Epic period, the Hindus had many clever architects. Besides the royal hall at *Indraprastha*, we read of another grand hall, built at *Hastinâpura*—a town situated about 50 miles north-east of the modern Delhi. In the 49th Chapter of the Sabhâ Parva (§ 48), Dhritarâshtra, father of Duryodhana, the king of the Kurus, says:—स्थूणासहस्रैर् बृहतीं शतद्वारां सभां मम । मनोरमां दर्शनीयां आशु कुर्वन्तु शिल्पिनः ॥ "Let the architects quickly build for me a large, pretty and beautiful hall, with one thousand pillars and one hundred doors." सहस्रस्तंभां हेमवैदूर्यचित्रां शतद्वारां तोरण-स्फाटिकारव्याम् । सभां अग्र्यां क्रोशमात्रायतां मे तद् विस्तारां आशु कुर्वन्तु युकताः ॥ "Let able men quickly build for me a grand hall, one *kos* in length and breadth, with a thousand pillars, with pictures of gold and *lapis lazuli*, with one hundred doors, and with crystal festoons."

Then we are told, that thousands of clever architects (सहस्रशः शिल्पिनः युक्ताः) built the hall, which was similar to that of the Pândavas (see Sabhâ Parva Chap. 56, § 15-20, Chap 58 § 7). Now according to the Mahâbhârata, the blind king, Dhritarâhtra with his hundred sons, continued to rule at the old capital of *Hastinâpura* on the Ganges, while he assigned to his nephews, the five Pândus, a district on the Jamnâ, where they founded *Indraprastha*. (Rapson's Anc. India p. 173). Thus we see that these two were totally different cities, and each contained a royal hall in it.

Buildings in Rigvedic and Later Times.

We come across thousand-pillared buildings in the Rigveda, in the second book of which we read:— "Those two kings , ... take their seat in their supremest house, the thousand-pillared, firmly-based" (Rv. II-41-5, V-62-6). In another place, we read of Varuna's house with thousand portals (Rv. VII-88-5). In a third place we have a reference

to a "hundred *stone-built* towns" (शतं अश्मन्मयीनां पुराम्), (Rv. IV-30-20). This passage* is very important, as showing that stone-built towns were known even in the Rigvedic times. Dutt rightly says about the Vedic Hindus, that "in numerous Hindu towns many structures and surrounding walls were of stone. That the art of building was carried to some degree of excellence appears from many allusions to mansions with thousand pillars" (Anc. India Vol. I, p. 46).

In the Epic period (1400 to 1000 B. C.) also the Hindus built many beautiful cities and palaces.

In the Apastamba Sutra (II-10-25), the king is directed to build a royal town and a palace for himself, so that "the palace shall stand in the heart of the town and in front of it, there shall be a hall, called the hall of invitation." This work of Apastamba belonged to the Rationalistic period, that is, between 1000 B. C. to 320 B. C (Dutt's Anc. India I, pp. 14, 220).

We therefore cannot agree with Dr. Spooner, when he says, that "there is one period of Indian history and one Indian Court, where definite evidence exists for just such things, as are mentioned in the Mâhâbharata, and the works of the Classical writers, who have quoted Megasthenes."

Mr. Kharegat's Views about Asura Maya and the Hall.

In reply to our letter Mr. Muncherji Pestanji Kharegat (I. C. S., retired) writes his views as under:—

The passage of the Brihat Jâtâka alluded to by me at last Saturday's meeting* is the 1st verse of the 7th Adhyaya, which deals with *Ayurdâya* or length of life. It runs:—

मय–यवन–मणित्थशक्तिपूर्वै र्दिवसकरादिषु वत्सराः प्रदिष्टाः।
नवतिथि विषयाश्विभूतरुद्रै र्दशसहितादशभिः स्वतुंगभेषु॥

"The years assigned by Maya Yavana, Manittha and Saktipurva (*i. e.* Parâsâra) to the Sun and others (moon and five planets), when they are all in their exaltations are (respectively) ten accompanied by nine, fifteen, five, two, five, eleven, and ten (*i. e.* 19, 25, 15, 12, 15, 21 and 20).

Bhattotpala in his commentary on this passage says:—मयनामा दानवः सूर्यलब्धवरप्रसादः। "The person named Maya was a Dânava who had obtained the favour of a gift from the Sun." This commentary is of Shaka 888 (976 A. D.)

You will find references to Maya—

(*a*) in Weber's Sanskrit Literature pp. 253, 254, 260, 274 and 275 (3rd edition of 1892).

(*b*) in S. B. Dikshit's (Marathi) History of Indian Astronomy pp. 178, 468, 482, 486 and 513.

(*c*) Whitney's and Burgess' Surya Siddhanta—comments on the opening 8 verses.

(*d*) Dawson's Dictionary of Hindu Mythology.

In the present Surya Siddhanta, Maya is said to propitiate the Sun (Surya) by great penance and to obtain knowledge of astronomy from him through a representative of the Sun, and to communicate it later on to some Rishis. In the second verse Maya is described as मयनामा महासुरः। Ranganâtha in his commentary on the Surya Siddhanta (Shaka 1525—

* Col. Waddell says that the buildings previous to his (Asoka's) epoch, as well as the walls of the city, seem to have been of wood." (Col. Waddell's Report of Excavations at Patliputra p. 7). Cunningham holds a different opinion. (Archæological Reports XXII. Introd. p. 4).

* Meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Research into Zoroastrian Religion held on 9th June 1917, where the first part of the Paper was read.

A. D. 1603) says:—मयेति नाम यस्य मयारव्यो महादैत्यः कश्चित्।

Weber (p. 253) says, that "according to later tradition (that of Jnân-Bhâskara, for instance) this Maya is distinctly assigned to Romaka-pura in the West." I have not got the Jnâna-Bhâskara, which appears to be a work on medicine. But we find the same tradition in some copies of the Surya Siddhanta. In some of these (one of which copies was seen by Dikshit and two by Burgess) the 7th Shloka of the 1st Adhyâya is:—

तस्मात् त्वं स्वां पुरीं गच्छ तत्र ज्ञानं ददामि ते।
रोमके नगरे ब्रह्मशापात् म्लेच्छावतार-धृक् ॥

(The Sun says to Maya after his penance):—"Therefore do you go to your native city; while I am (*or perhaps*, you are) holding the Avatâra of a Mlechha owing to the curse of Brahmâ."

Dikshit thinks this Shloka to be a later interpolation and Whitney thinks, it is a part of the original book. However that may be, it seems, that the Hindus themselves had the tradition of Maya being a Greek long before the time of the modern European scholars.

The tradition is also supported by a statement of Al-Biruni in his work on India (Ch. XIV p. 157 of Sachau's translation Vol. I), that one of the authors of a Jâtaka work was Mau the Greek; this seems to be a transcription of मय यवन. He is mentioned in connection with Parâsara, Satya and Manittha, so that there can be little doubt, that he is the same as the Maya of the Hindu writers, and thus the tradition seems to be at least as old as 1030 A. D.

That Maya's name became known to the Hindus at a late stage may also be inferred from the fact, that it does not occur in the old Vedic literature or even in the Brahmanas, or even in Pânini (so far as I know). This name is not quoted by Macdonell in his Vedic Mythology or Index. He is therefore not an ancient Asura, but a foreigner, who had been, according to the custom of the Hindus, called a Daitya, Dânava or Asura.

It may be noted, that Maya's name is also quoted in connection with the building of houses (Vâstu Adhyâya and Vajralepa Adhyâya) in Varâha's Brihat Samhitâ and lines from his work are also quoted by the Commentator Utpala. This work may have been a special one on architecture, or a general one like Varâha's Samhitâ. One can easily understand, how to such a writer came to be ascribed the building of the Sabhâ Mandapa in the Mahâbhârata.

Of course as I said at the meeting, the fact that Maya was a foreigner, does not by any means justify his identification with Mazda. Neither the position ascribed to him, nor the acts done by him, as was pointed out by you, bear any resemblance to those of Ahura Mazda; his position as well as his acts are those of a man, cleverer than ordinary but still a man. At the time the epithet Maya came to be applied to him, the Hindus did not certainly use the word to mean a god but just the reverse.

I may remark, that Hindus may have pillared halls long before the Mauryan dynasty, as pointed out by you, but it seems probable that those pillars were of wood. Of course one cannot be sure in the matter. But the absence of the remains of any stone structures of times preceding Mauryas, as well as the testimony of Megasthenes about the wooden architecture of Patliputra seem to point to this conclusion.

Cunningham's Opinion about Stone Buildings.

With reference to Mr. Kharegat's remark in the last para we take the liberty to point out, that Major-General Cunningham holds a different opinion. He says:—"I have long

held the opinion, that the Hindus knew and practised the art of stone-cutting at least two centuries before the time of Asoka. Indeed the very name Taxila or *Takshashila Nagar* 'the city of cut-stone buildings' proves, that the art was known and used long before the time of Alexander." (Cunningham's Archæological Reports XXII Intro. p. IV.)

Were the Mauryas Zoroastrians?

Dr. Spooner takes us a step further when he says:—"The palaces, to which the Mahâbhârata refers, are those of Patliputra. We have, however, seen above, in the line दानवानां पुरा पार्थ that these structures were erected by the Dânavas, who according to Weber were a foreign people. But if, the monarchs for whom Persian palaces were built by a divine spirit reminiscent of Ahura Mazda, were themselves non-Hindu as the Mahâbhârata implies, it follows obviously enough, that they must have been Iranian in race and Zoroastrian in faith. Were then the Mauryas Zoroastrians? I do not myself see any escape from this conclusion. The logic of the argument seems to me unimpeachable." Further up the learned Doctor proceeds to argue that the Indians pronounced the Avestan word *Danghâvo* (the cognate of Sanskrit *Dasyavah*) as *Dânavah* and as Manu associated the Pahlavas, who were Zoroastrians, with the *Dasyavah* the Dânavas were Zoroastrians. Therefore if the Mauryas were Dânavas, they were Zoroastrians.

Our answer to the above argument is that the students of the Mahâbhârata know, that the Dânavas were not Zoroastrians. They were the sons and descendants of Danu, one of the daughters of Daksha. About 50 Dânavas have been named in the Adi Parva, Chapter 65, but none of the names is Iranian.

We know, that *Dainghâvo* is the plural form of *Dainghu*, which is but another form of *Dakhyu*. The exact Sanskrit equivalent of *Dakhyu* is *Dasyu*. As we have already seen the Avestan *Dânu* is the same as the Sanskrit *Dânu*. Therefore *Dânu* and *Dasyu* are quite distinct terms, bearing opposite meanings; for, the *Dânus* were the enemies of the Zoroastrians. We therefore cannot admit, that the *Dainghâvo* were the same as the Dânavas, although we agree with Dr. Spooner's remark, that "One cannot too strongly stress the fact, that in dealing with foreign names and borrowed foreign words in India, the rules of ordinary phonetics can almost never be applied."

We now come to the question: "Were the Mauryas Zoroastrians?" Dr. Spooner adduces proofs to show, that not only Chandragupta was a Zoroastrian, but that even *Chânakya*,* the well-known Brahman Minister of Chandragupta was a Zoroastrian. As Asoka was a great patron of the Buddhists, attempts were made by Buddhist writers to prove that Chandragupta belonged to the same family as Buddha. But we are surprised when Dr. Spooner tries to show, that Buddha also was a Zoroastrian.

The name *Maurya*† arrests our attention first. A native tradition assigns the paternity of Chandragupta to Dhana Nandana (the last of the Nanda kings, who ruled over Magadha) by a woman of Sudra caste named Murâ. The Brahmana Chânakya made this base-born child of the king the instrument of his wicked designs, and putting Nanda and his sons to death, placed him on the throne. Dr. Spooner does not believe this story of Murâ

* Otherwise called Kautilya or Vishnugupta (V. Smith's Hist. of India p. 36) or Drâmila, which name is inscribed on Kanheri rock (B. B. R. A. S, V. p. 2-29.)

† Traces of the Mauryas remain in the Maratha surname More (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 18 p. 420).

but we must say, that the classical writer Justin confirms it, when he says that "he was of humble origin" (Max Muller's Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 275).

There is another story, related in the Buddhistic books, which is not referred to by Dr. Spooner. Tradition runs, that Chandragupta's father reigned over a small kingdom, situated in a valley among the Himalayas and called Maurya, from the great number of Mayura or peacocks. He was killed in an invasion by his enemies, but his queen escaped to Pâtliputra, where she gave birth to Chandragupta. She exposed him in the neighbourhood of a cattle shed. A bull named Chandra protected him for some time. The child was found by a shepherd, who called him Chandragupta, *i. e.* "protected by the bull Chandra." At that time a Brahman named Chânakya, who came from the city of Taxila in the Punjab, was living in Patliputra. To him Dhana Nandana, the king of Patliputra, had given an insult. Consequently Chânakya was casting about for means to effect the destruction of the king. He bought the royal boy Chandragupta from the shepherd and trained him in the art of war. Chandragupta in due course collected a force of mercinaries, invaded Magadha, killed the king and captured his capital Paltiputra. This tradition is found in a Ceylonese chronicle, named *Mahavamso** and in a Pali commentary named *Atthkathâ*, a commentary on Dhammapada by Buddhaghosha, written in the 5th century A. D. [Bhandarkar's Early Hist. of Deccan p. 11, B. B. R. A. S. 1885 p, 276]. In these books Chânakya is clearly referred to as the "Brahmana Chânakko." The Vishnu Purâna calls him "the Brahmana Kautilya" (Wilson's tr. p. 468). In the Sanskrit drama Mudhrâ Râkshasha also he is spoken of as a Brâhmana, who had taken a vow, that he would not tie up his tuft of hair, until he had completed his task.

According to Prof. Max Muller the title Maurya was used by the Buddhists as a proof of Asoka's royal decent, although it is explained by the Brâhmanas as a metronimic—Murâ being given as the name of one of Nanda's wives. This however only rests on the authority of the commentator of the Vishnu Purâna;* but Chandragupta's relationship with Nanda and so also his low caste origin, are confirmed by the Mudrâ-Râkshasha†(Max Muller's Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 297.)

Mouru, Merv and Meru.

Dr. Spooner connects the name Maurya, with the Avestan town Mouru, which is known as Margu in the Achæmenian inscriptions. He goes a step further and locates the mount Meru of the Hindu mythology in Merv. But he does not take this Merv to be the modern Merv, since he identifies it with Mervdasht, the plain of Merv, sometimes called the plain of Murghab, on which the Persepolitan platform stands, and on the strength of this identification he argues that the royal hall at Patliputra was erected against a sacred mountain, just as was the case at Persepolis. But as Dr. J. J. Modi has pointed out, it is certain that at least the Mouru of the Vendidad is the Central Asian Merv, and not the Merv of the Mervdasht or Murgab in the west. (Asiatic Papers Pt. II p. 268). Dr. Modi thinks that the names Mervdasht and Murgab, which are applied to places near Persepolis are more modern, not Achæmenian or old Iranian (idem p. 269). We therefore think that Meru could not be in Iran. Nay, ac-

* Pali epic poem of Ceylon written in the 6th century A. D. (Rapson's Anc. India p. 75) Max Muller gives the date 459-477 A.D. (see S.B.E. Vol. 10 Pt. I Intro. p.39.)

* See Wilson's tr. p. 469.

† In Act III-11 Chandragupta is called *Maurya vrishala* i.e. Maurya the Sudra.

cording to some scholars it was only a fabulous mountain.

Dr. Spooner urges that Mourva is an altogether fitting centre for the Meru legend for the following reasons:—(1) A Pali tradition runs that the Asuras were located at its base and the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods was situated upon its summit.

(2) This number "thirty-three" has according to the learned Doctor peculiarly Zoroastrian associations.

(3) The recorded height of the mountain is also Zoroastrian. The Purânas tell us, it was 84,000 *yojanas* high. The number is curious. It is derived by multiplying the two pre-eminently sacred numbers of the Persians, *seven* and *twelve*.

We regret, we cannot subscribe to the above opinion. The number "thirty-three" was a very usual number among the Hindus also, as we shall see hereafter. The numbers seven and twelve were equally sacred among the Hindus. For instance in the Rigveda we read about 7 horses of the Sun, 7 metres of the Veda, 7 priests, 7 regions of the earth, 7 Rishis, 7 rivers, 7 Adityas, 7 castles, 7 communities, 7 fiends, 7 flames, 7 hotris, 7 singers, 7 sisters, 7 splendours and many other seven things. In the white Yajur Veda we read of 7 waters, 7 Hotars, 7 domestic animals, 7 organs of perception, 7 vital airs, 7 mansions of Agni, 7 logs of wood. Instances might be multiplied *ad nauseam*. Similarly about the number twelve. We know of 12 days, * 12 moons, 12 forms, 12 spokes, 12 Adityas, 12 letters of Jagati Chhanda † etc.

Alleged Proofs about Mauryas being Zoroastrians.

Dr. Spooner produces four kinds of further proof to show that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians—namely, (1) the evidence of the coins; (2) a passage in Patanjali; (3) aversion to the Mauryas; (4) assistance from Persian troops. We shall have to deal with each of these questions at some length.

(I.) Evidence of Coins.

Now first as regards the coins. What are called the "punch-marked" coins, were the oldest coins of India. They were so called, because the devices on the coins were impressed not by means of a die, covering the face of the coin, but by separate punches applied irregularly at various points on the surface. According to Vincent Smith, these coins were a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers. The obverse punches were impressed by the different moneyers, and the reverse marks were the signs of approval by the controlling authority (V. Smith's Catalogue of Coins p. 133). Dr. Spooner opposes this theory. In his opinion these were Mauryan coins, the component parts of which were a symbol of the sun, a group of suns, a branch, a bull and a *chaitya*. The sun was worshipped by the Zoroastrians. The branch, which is untraceable in the Hindu Symbolism is, according to Dr. Spooner, intelligible as the sacred branch of Haoma. The bull was the Mithraic bull. The Chaitya, which signified a hill, suggested the mount Meru, which was situated in Merv in Iran. Hence from this evidence of the Mauryan coins, the learned Doctor thinks, that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.

A conclusive answer to these arguments is furnished by the monograph of E. Thomas, entitled "the Earliest Indian Coinage." We can only quote extracts. As to the symbol of the sun, he says:—

"Savitri or Surya undoubtedly held a high position in the primitive Vedic theogony; and it is a coincidence singularly in accord with its

* Cf Prâkrit Yadna.

† For this and "12 days" see M. Bh. Vana Parva Chap. 134 § 19.

typical isolation on these pieces, that the Indo-Aryans, unlike their Persian brethren, dissociated the sun from all other planetary bodies.....Then again arises the question, as to whether the sun-type, which appears the earliest among all the mint dies.....does not refer to the Indian traditionary family of the Surya Vamsas" (p. 9).

The symbol of *Chaitya* is important. It is a pyramidical symbol, usually made up of two semi-circles placed side by side with one semi-circle placed exactly above them. Sometimes we come across a pyramid of three semi-circles, with two above them and one at the top. The word *Chaitya* * was connected with चिता (heap) and it is supposed that it formerly meant a "mount" or "hill." With reference to this symbol on the coins E. Thomas observes:—"Its form ultimately entered largely into the exotic elements of Buddhism, but it is doubtful, if Buddhism as expounded by Sákya Singh (*i. e.* Buddha) was even thought of, when these fanciful tumuli were first impressed upon the public money....As the Buddhist religion avowedly developed itself in the land and was no foreign importation, nothing would be more reasonable than that its votaries retain many of the devices, that had already acquired a quasi-reverence among the vulgar." (Earliest Indian Coinage; pp. 10-11).

According to James Prinsep "this symbol of Chaitya occurs on the Pantaleon Greek coins, on the Indo-Scythic group, on the Behat Buddhist group, on similar coins dug up in Ceylon and in India." (J. R. A. S. B. VI, 389 ; IV-686).

As to the device of the Tree, Thomas observes:—"The Tree is another chosen emblem of later Buddhism, but it did not appertain exclusively to the Buddhists in early times, as it is to be seen on a very ancient coin, implying a directly opposing faith, in the fact of its bearing the name of Vishnu-deva. The Bodhi tree is no more essentially Buddhist than the Assyrian sacred tree, the Hebrew grove or the popularly venerated (Tulsi) trees of India." (pp. 20 and 5).

In the Plate, which Thomas has given in his book, we find a number of devices, which are found on ancient coins—and these include bulls, cows and other animals.

Regarding the symbol of the four-fold sun we read that "Many of these ancient symbols, more especially the four-fold sun, are found established on the fully-struck coinage of Ujain, of a date not far removed from the reign of Asoka, who once ruled as a sub-king of that city." In short, "these primitive punch-dies seem to have been the produce of purely home fancies and local thought."

It will thus be seen, that Dr. Spooner's arguments about the symbols on the Mauryan coins, do not prove, that they were the exclusive property of the Zoroastrians. If there had been any Zoroastrian influence, we would have come across the usual fire-altar, or images of Yazads, or the Taurus symbol or the Farohar symbol. Finally it may be pointed out that in 1906 Dr. Spooner thought, that the above mentioned symbols were Buddhist and in 1915 he thought that they wereZoroastrians. In our opinion they were neither the former nor the latter.

(II.) Passage in Mahabhashya.

Now we come to the passage of Patanjali, the author of Mâhâbhâshya, which was the commentary on

* In Buddhistic architecture it had quite a different signification; it meant "a church or assembly hall, excavated in rocks." The Kanheri cave near Bombay, the Karli cave between Poona and Bombay &c. are Chaityas (Dutt's Anc. India Vol. II, p. 72).

Pânini's Sutras.* According to Egg-ling, Max Muller, Apte, Peterson, Keilhorn and Bhandarkar, this commentator lived in about 150 B. C. Now Pânini's Sutra V-3-96 states, that when from a word such as अश्व you wish to form the name of likeness or imitation of the object, you must add the termination क; thus अश्व = horse, and अश्वक = the imitation or figure of a horse. But Sutra No. V-3-99 says, that जीविकार्थे चापण्ये, that is to say, you must drop क, when the figure in question is one by which a man earns his livelihood and which is not vendible.

On this Patanjali makes his comment in his Mahabhashya thus :— अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति। शिवः स्कंदो विशाख इति। किं कारणं। मौर्यैःहिरण्यार्थिभिः अर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः॥ भवेत् तासु न स्यात्। यास्वेताः संप्रतिपूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति॥

This is a very difficult passage, which has taxed the energy and called forth all the powers of learned scholars like Goldstucker, Peterson, Nâgojibhatta, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and others. Sir Ramkrishna has discussed the translations of the first three scholars in the pages of the journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1885. We shall give here Sir Ramkrishna's translation or rather explanation.

"Pânini lays down a rule, that the termination क, which is appended to the name of an object to signify something resembling that object (इवे), provided that something is an image (प्रतिकृतौ), is dropped (कनो लुप्,) when the image is used for deriving a livelihood (जीविकार्थे), and is not vendible (अपण्ये). Now Patanjali raises this question: The addition of the condition, that the image should not be vendible renders such forms as शिवः, स्कंदः and विशाखः grammatically unjustifiable (तत्रेदं... ...विशाख इतिः). He must here be taken to mean, that these figures are current and that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to them. "Why not" (किं कारणं), he asks. "Because the Mauryas, seeking for gold or money, used images of gods as means" (मौर्यैः.....प्रकल्पिता). Here then the author must be understood to say, that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to the images शिवः, स्कंदः and विशाखः, because such images were sold by the Mauryas. They are therefore vendible objects, though as a matter of fact they are not for sale, and though the selling of such images of gods is discreditable...Hence the termination (क,) cannot be dropped in accordance with the rule, and they should be called शिवकः, स्कंदकः and विशाखकः; but they are called शिवः, स्कंदः and विशाखः। "It may be (भवेत्), that the rule about the dropping of क is not applicable (न स्यात्), to them, *i. e.* to those (तासु) images of gods, which were sold by the Mauryas. But as to these (एताः) (*viz.* those called by the names शिवः, स्कंदः and विशाखः the correctness of which is in question), which (याः) are at the present day used for worship (संप्रति पूजार्थाः), the rule is applicable to them (तासु भविष्यति)." That is, the termination क should be dropped in their case, and the forms whose correctness was questioned are correct.

"If the passage were put in the form of a dialogue between a Doctor and his opponent, it would stand thus:—

"Opponent—Panini inserts the condition, that the image should not

* An interesting "battle of books" has been waged by scholars about the date of Pânini. The latest date is that assigned by Max Muller, who places him in the 4th century B. C. According to Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and Mr. Dutt. he lived in the 8th century B. C. See Shatapatha Br. p. 29, M. Muller's Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 44, 243. J. R. A. S. 1885 pp. 181-341. Dutt's Anc. India I. p. 274; Indian Antiquary I, p. 302.

be vendible. Then the forms शिव:, स्कंद: and विशाख: are not correct according to this rule, (because, these forms express images of those gods and should have the suffix क).

"Doctor—Why?

"Opponent—Because, the Mauryas desirous of raising money, used as means the images of gods, *i. e.* they bartered them.....and they consequently belong to the class of vendible objects.)

"Doctor—Those images may not come under the rule (because they bartered them, and consequently they may not drop क.) But these (*i. e.* those in question) which at the present day are used for worship, come under the operation of the rule (and consequently the क is dropped.)

"*Explanation*—The forms are correct, because they signify images of gods, which are *now* worshipped and are not vendible objects, because such images were used by the Mauryas for raising money; but the vendibility of some does not make those, that are worshipped vendible, and consequently the names of images do come under Panini's rule and drop क.....

"Does this passage contain history"? Sir R. G. Bhandarkar answers that the past tense.....shows that the Mauryas existed at a time, which preceded the present time; and the present time must clearly be the time, when Patanjali wrote. Sir Ramkrishna thinks, that the Mauryas could not have been a caste of idol-makers, as Nâgojibhatta supposed; for if they were, there was no necessity for referring them to past time. But Nâgojibhatta lived about 150 years ago and did not care at all for history.

"The word Maurya is used in the Mârkandeya Purâna to express a certain class of demons. But these demons could have nothing to do here. The word therefore must be understood in the only other known sense, namely that of the royal dynasty founded by Chandragupta about 320 B. C. Now what is this fact, which Patanjali mentions regarding the Mauryas? It may be as Prof. Weber has stated, that the Mauryas coined money by stamping images of god's pieces, or it may be anything else" (J. B. R. A. S. XVI 1885 pp. 206-10)

Dr. Spooner says:—"The Mauryas did manufacture images and made a trade in them. but they were not used by any Pujâri as a source of livelihood and were not the object of direct adoration. Images of the latter class we shall call *idols*; those the Mauryas made were merely statues. This is the distinction, which Pânini would make."

We may not dispute Dr. Spooner's interpretation or rather explanation; but we do not agree with him, when he suggests, that as this distinction is appropriate for Zoroastrian sculpture, and as idolatry was unknown to the Zoroastrian religion, the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.

We shall presently see, that the Hindus practised idolatry in the Mauryan period; but was it universal? According to Dutt, "The Vedic religion was to the very last a religion of elemental gods, of Indra, Agni, Surya, Varuna, Maruts, Ashvins and others* . . . . From the most ancient times down to the last days of the Rationalistic period (1000 B. C. to 320 B. C.), kings, priests as well as humble house-holders offered sacrifices to the fire and knew of no image worship." Dutt's proposition may not be readily accepted, for, as we shall see later on, we are told in Lalita Vistara, that some days after the birth of Buddha, his mother took him to a temple, which contained the images of Shiva, Skanda and other deities. It appears probable that *some* Hindus practised idolatry

* Prof. Max Muller says, "the religion of the Veda knows of no idols (Chips I. p. 38)".

in the time of Buddha, but *all* did not. It is certain as Dutt says that "when the Code of Manu was completed, image worship was gaining ground and was condemned by that conservative law-giver. The practice however steadily gained ground, until it became the essence of modern Hindu rites and celebrations." (Anc. India Vol. II, pp. 188-189). Thus we see, that in the time of Manu,* which was about the time of the Mauryan period, some Hindus still condemned idolatry. Therefore we have no proofs to say that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.

Pandit N. Bhashyacharya in his book "the Age of Patanjali" (pp. 7-9) thus concludes:—"The Mahâbhashya says that the Mauryas were makers and worshippers of idols, such as those of Shiva, Skanda and Visâkha and were begging from door to door, taking the idols with them. If according to the Buddhist records, the Mauryas had belonged to a royal family instead of being beggars, then these Mauryas mentioned in the Buddhist records must be quite different from those mentioned in the Mahâbhâshya. If they had been Buddhists, they would not have been worshippers of idols . . . . If the Aryans were worshippers of idols, he would have said so; on the contrary, he alludes all along in his work to the Aryan worship of the 33 Vedic gods. It is therefore conclusive, that when he speaks of the idol worship of the Mauryas, a non-Aryan tribe is meant . . . . . The Mauryas who were poor and who earned their livelihood by (making and) selling images were not a tribe in any way connected with the Mauryas who were ruling princes, such as Chandragupta, Asoka etc. "The old MSS. (of the Mahâbhâshya) of the South make the allusion of making and selling idols apply not to *Mauryas* but to *Pouras*, a peculiar tribe also mentioned in the Vîshnu Purâna* . , ... If *Pouras* be the right word, so much controversy about the allusion of Patanjali to the Mauryas will vanish at once."

Mauryan Religion.

The *Arthashâshtra*† of Kautilya or Chânakya throws light on the religion of the Mauryan period. In the section on the "Buildings within the Fort," Kautilya orders, that "the नगरराजदेवता (Royal deity of the city) shall be situated to the north. In the centre of the city the apartments of gods such as Aparajita, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Siva, Vaishravana and Ashvin shall be situated."

The chapter on "Means to injure Enemy" concludes with these formulas:—"Salutation to Aditi, salutation to Anumati, to Sarasvati and Savitri; Svâhâ to Agni, Svâhâ to Soma, Svâhâ to Bhuh; Svâhâ to Bhuvah."

The chapter on medicines and mantras contains the following verse:

"I bow to Bali, son of Vairochana; to Shambara acquainted with a hundred kinds of magic; to Bhandirapâka, Naraka, Nikumbha, Kumbha, Devala and Narada.....I bow to the goddesses Suvarnapushpi, and Brahmani, to (the god) Brahma, and Kushadvaja, to serpents and goddesses."

Further up we see that *Devatapratima* (images of gods), *Chaityas* and *Stupas* (that is to say, the sepulchral mounds inhabited by evil spirits) were regularly worshipped.

* Dr. Buhler fixes the remoter limit of the date of Manusmriti in about 2nd century B. C. (S. B. E. Vol. XXV. Intro p. 117). In Manusmriti III. 152 and 180 the *Devalakâs* or "temple priests" are hated. The distinctive feature of Purânic Hinduism in the matter of observance is image worship. (Dutt Anc. India Vol. II, p 188).

* Amsa 4. Ch. XXIV. p. 826 (Madras Edition).

† A Sk. treatise on the conduct of affairs of state. It confirms the account of Megasthenes.

The fourth edict of Asoka refers to religious processions, that he arranged for the edification of his subjects. In these processions images of gods riding on chariots and elephants were exhibited. One of the passages of the inscription runs thus :—"Those gods, who up to this time had been unassociated (with men) in Jambudvipa, have now been made associated with them." * These gods were not the Vedic gods or gods of the modern Hindus, but they were the Brahmanical gods of the people of Magadha.

It is clear that the religion as set forth above could not be Zoroastrian or Magian religion. No doubt *Mâyâ-yoga* (*i. e.* Magic) occupied a very prominent place in it; for instance, in the Artha-Shâstra we read, that "persons acquainted with the rituals of the Atharva-Veda, and experts in magic and yoga shall perform such ceremonials, as ward off the danger from demons." But magic was not the monopoly of the Magi. As Dr. Otto Schrader says :—"There was among the Aryans, just as among all other people, a more ancient way of bringing the supernatural within reach of the natural than sacrifice and prayer, namely, *magic*." (Encycl. of Reli. and Ethics II. p. 40; R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races pp. 230-239).

(III). Aversion to Mauryas.

We now come to the third point. As to the aversion to the Mauryas implied by the silence of the Hindu books in regard to them, Dr. Spooner observes, that that is conceivable, so far as Asoka is concerned, as he was a Buddhist. But what about his grandfather Chandragupta? As the first Indian emperor, we should not have been surprised to find him deified.

The reason is quite clear to us. Chandragupta was after all a usurper, and had come to the throne by the machinations of a disaffected Brahman minister of his predecessor. We have seen, that according to the Hindu tradition and also the classical writer Justin, he was of humble origin. This coupled with the fact that he was mentioned in glowing terms in the works of the Buddhists who had chucked up Hinduism, is the reason why he and his followers were treated with contemptuous silence in the Hindu books.

(IV) Help by Persian Troops.

Let us now take up the fourth point, namely, that when Chandragupta invaded Magadha, he was assisted by Persian troops. This fact is referred to in the Sanskrit drama, Mudrâ Râkshasha, composed by a writer named Vishâkha-datta, who according to the late Mr. Telang lived about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. Mudrâ Râkshasha means "Râkshasha with a signet." It is a drama of political intrigue, consisting of 7 acts and is partly based on historical events. According to Vincent Smith, it undoubtedly embodies a genuine historical tradition (Early Hist. of India p. 113).

In the second act of the drama, we read, that Chandragupta besieged Kusuma-pura, (that is Patliputra) with his troops consisting of the Sakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Greeks), Kiratas (people living below the Himalayas), Kâmbojas, (Kâbulis), Pârasikas (Persians) and Bâlhikas (Bactrians).

In the fifth act, the armies of Malayaketu, who was the survivor of the Nanda line, have been mentioned as consisting of Khasas (Khasia of [illegible]ngal), Magadhas, Gandhâras

* The text in the Shâhbâzgari, inscription runs thus:—

विमनं द्रशनं हस्तिनो जोतिकंधनि अनानि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयित्न जनस ॥

It is thus translated by Dr. G. Buhler :—"The sight of the cars of gods, elephants and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people." (Epigraphia Indica Vol. II. pp. 451-2, 467).

(people of Kandhar), Yavanas, Sakas, Chinas and Hunas (Huns).

It will thus be seen, that both the sides raised armies of mercenaries and that the Pârasikas or the Persians were engaged, along with other foreigners, for the purposes of invasion. We have nothing to show, that the Persians who fought under Chandragupta, were men of his own religion, as Dr. Spooner suggests.

Possible Objections to Dr. Spooner's Theory.

But what shall we say about the reputed connection of Chandragupta, with the Nandas, and what about Chânakya, through whose machinations Chandragupta became successful? Were these Nandas and this Chânakya Zoroastrian?

Dr. Spooner's answer is, that "the alleged connection of Chandragupta was with the नव Nandas, that is to say, with the *new* Nandas, and not the *nine* Nandas. The earlier Nandas were good Hindus, but all authorities agree in putting a great gulf between these ancient kings and the low upstarts, who succeeded them. The latter were hated cordially, and is it not recorded, that they exterminated all the Kshatriyas? If they were Persian invaders, this is sensible enough. If they were Hindu Kshatriyas themselves, the thing is unintelligible."

We cannot accept Dr. Spooner's above statement in view of what we read in the Vishnu Purâna, namely:—

"The son of Mahânanda will be born of a woman of the Sudra class; his name will be Nanda, called Mahâpadma; for, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; after him the kings of the earth will be Sudras. He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella. He will have eight sons, (Sumâlya and others), who will reign after Mahâpadma, and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brâhman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas." (Wilson's Tr. pp. 467-468).*

We need hardly point out that the statement of the Vishnu Purâna is in the form of a prophesy, although it was really a matter of the past. It is thus easily intelligible why the first Nanda and his successors were cordially hated. The last two Nandas† were undoubtedly the worst of the whole lot. But the conclusion that the Nandas must have been Persian invaders, because they were hated by the Hindus, is strange as well as absurd.

Was Chanakya a Zoroastrian?

Now we come to the other question:—Was Chânakya a Zoroastrian? Dr. Spooner says, that he was not an orthodox Hindu Brâhman, and practically suggests, that he was a "Magian Minister of State." He was a native of Taxila, who began his career as a practitioner in medicine; and medicine, although particularly associated with the Magians, has never found much honour in the East. Also the fact, that Chânakya dedicated his book, named *Arthashâshtra* to Venus and Jupiter shows, that he was a student of astrology,

* Dutt remarks:—"we find in the above extract mention of low caste kings, ascending to the throne of the Kshatriyas..... We have also mention of Kautilya, the renowned Chânakya, who vowed vengeance against the house of the Nandas, and helped Chandragupta to ascend the throne of Magadha" (Anc. India Vol. II p. 86).

† From the records of Megasthenes it appears that when Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis (Bias) in 326 B. C., he was told of a king of Magadha, who must have been one of the Nandas. This reigning king was alleged to be extremely unpopular owing to his wickedness and base origin. He was the son of a barber, who having become the paramour of the queen of the last sovereign contrived his death.....and exterminated the royal family. Afterwards he got a son, who was reigning at the time of Alexander's campaign and who was odious and contemptible to his subjects (V. Smith's Hist. of India, pp. 33-35).

in which the Persian priests were experts. For these reasons Dr. Spooner would look upon Chânakya as a Zoroastrian.

It is true that medicine, though well regarded in general, did not come off without a sneer among the Brâhmans. In the Taitteriya Samhita (VI-4-9-3 Cf. Maitr Sm. IV-6-2 and Shat Br. I-5-14) we read:— ब्राह्मणेन भेषजं न कार्यम्। "a Brâhman should not practise medicine"—the reason, that is assigned, being that the physician is impure, and that the practice entails promiscuous mingling with men. Medicine was connected with the Atharva-Veda, which, as we shall see hereafter, was looked upon with contempt in the later Hindu literature. But as Prof. Bloomfield remarks, " the Vedic people could not fail altogether, *when in the proper mood*, to estimate the medicine of the time at its right value." (S.B.E. Vol. 42 Intro. pp. 39-40).

In the Rigveda, Atharva Veda and other Vedic texts, we come across *Oshadhi-stutis* or hymns in praise of the curative qualities of plants. Contrary to the statement in the Shatapatha Brâhmana, we find that in far earlier times, the Brâhmanas had acquired great fame as good doctors.* We read for instance, in the Rigveda, that that Brâhman was called a physician, who had many herbs at hand, who was a fiend-slayer, and chaser of disease. (Rv. X-97-6). Also we read, that the plants saved from death the man, whose cure a Brâhman undertook (Rv. X-97-22). The doctors prepared medicines from plants, which not only saved the lives of men, but they had Amrits, which made men live for a hundred years. They must have been indeed clever physicians, for the poet-doctor, while treating his patient cries out, " as many plants, as human physicians know to contain a remedy, so many, endowed with healing quality, do I apply to thee." (Av. VIII-7-26). Medicine was indeed a very honourable profession as we find a poet boasting, that his father was a doctor (Rv. IX-112-3). That medicine was held in great respect by a majority of the Hindus is proved by the fact, that we meet with several divinities presiding over medicine. "Rudra is the lord of balmy medicines, and his hand is full of sovran medicines (Rv. I-43-4, I-114-5). The Ashvins are called leeches with medicines to heal men. (Rv. I-157-6). Soma-Rudra are invoked to heal men and cure them." (Rv. VI-74-3).

It is interesting to know, that 22 centuries ago, Alexander the Great, kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases, which Greek physicians could not heal. (S.B.E. Vol. 42, p. 257). Such was the great respect enjoyed by the Hindu doctors.

Astrology Among Hindus.

We admit that astrology and fortune-telling were regarded as impure occupations.(Baudh-yâyana II-1-2-16, Manu IX-258). The practice of astrology was forbidden to ascetics; and the astrologer was excluded from the Shrâddha. (Manu VI-50, III-162, Vishnu 82-7). But this was also due to the fact, that these practices were connected with the Atharva Veda, which was cried down by the law givers.

Chanakya's Book and Atharva Veda.

Dr. Spooner proceeds to point out, that in his book Arthashâshtra, Chânakya places *Anvikshiki*, which comprised Yoga, before the three Vedas; and as the Yoga practices were akin to Magian mummeries, the suggestion is thrown out, that Chânakya was a Magian.

It may be, as Dr. Spooner observes, that no orthodox Brâhman would give precedence to anything before the triple Vedas. But we do come

* See Rv. X-97. A. V. VIII-7, Maitrâyani Samhita II-7-13, Taittiriya Samhita IV-2-6, Vajasneyi Samhita XII-75-96.

across passages, in which the Atharva Veda (the fourth Veda) is exalted above the three Vedas. For instance, in the cosmogonic account of the universe, as given in the Gopatha Brahmana (I-1-4-10) the Atharva Veda stands before the Rik, Yajus, and Sâman; and in the Vaitâna Sutra (6-1) the Atharvan is placed at the head of the four Vedas. (S.B.E. Vol. 42 Intro. pp. 48-49).

Even if we admit, that Chânakya's orthodoxy is impugned, still that does not mean, that he was a Magian. The reason why *Anvikshiki* (*i. e.* Nyaya, or Reasoning or Investigation) is placed first is thus explained by Chânakya:—

"Righteous and unrighteous acts are learnt from the triple Vedas; wealth and non-wealth from *Vârtta* (agriculture or business); the expedient and inexpedient, as well as potency and impotency, from the science of Government; *Anvikshiki*, viewing these sciences in the light of reason, does good to the world, keeps the mind steady in weal and woe alike, and bestows skill in knowledge, speech and action." Further up *Anvikshiki* is called प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानाम् "the lamp of all sciences." (See R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races pp. 228-229).

Now as regards the Yogins, we may say that they had several duties to perform, such as, assuming special postures for meditation, regulation of the breath and abstraction of the organs from their natural functions. It was obligatory on them to practise धारणा (steadfastness), ध्यान (contemplation), and समाधि (meditation). The early exercises to be practised by the Yogins were *asceticism* and the *muttering of the mantras*. These were supposed to overcome all afflictions, egoism and desire. The object of Yoga was to preclude future births. The occult powers described in the Yoga Sutra of Patanjali (B. C. 150) were indeed wonderful. A Yogin knew the past and the future, made himself invisible to men, observed what was passing in distant regions or in the stars and planets, conversed with spirits, travelled in the air or through water, and acquired various superhuman powers. (Dutt's Anc. India II. pp. 286-287).

Were these duties and exercises practised by the Magi or the Zoroastrians? Is there any trace of future births or occult powers in our religion? The answer is emphatically in the negative.

We know that the old name of the Atharva Veda was *Atharvângiras*. Both the elements in this name—Atharvan and Angiras—are recognised as "good Persian" * words by Dr. Spooner. Hence he supposes that although the entire Veda is not of Persian origin, still it is a mixture of the Magian doctrines with similar beliefs among the Hindus of the time.

We admit, that this is a very interesting question for the Parsis, and the answer may be found in the very learned introduction by Prof. Bloomfield in the Sacred Books of the East Volume 42nd. The term *Atharvan* referred to the *Bheshajani i. e.*, auspicious or holy practices of the Veda, which conferred prosperity; on the other hand the term *Angiras* referred to the *Abhichâra* or the hostile sorcery practice—namely the "terrible witch-craft."

Prof. Bloomfield has collected a number of passages from the whole range of the Hindu scriptures to show, what position the Atharva Veda occupied in the times of the Vedas, Brâhmanas, Upanishadas, Grihya-Sutras, Smritis, Epics and Purânas. He shows that from the Vedic times down to the times of the Smritis "there is no evidence of repugnance or exclusiveness" of the Atharva Veda, and concludes, that

* Atharvan is the same as the Avestan Athravan; but what is the equivalent of Angiras? Is it Angra in Yasna Ha 43-15?

"a sober survey of the position of the Atharva Veda.....yields the result, that it was considered within its own sphere as a Veda *in perfectly good standing*" (S. B. E. Vol. 42 Intro., p. 40).

Now coming to the times of the Smriti or law books we find that "there also the Atharva Veda retains in a measure its place by virtue of its profound hold upon popular beliefs, because indispensable sciences like medicine and astrology are Atharvanic by distinction, and because it performs for the king inestimable services in the injury and overthrow of enemies"* (idem p. 46).

On the other hand, the inferiority of the Atharvan is put outright in the Apastamba (II.-11, 29, 10-11), where it is said, that "the knowledge of women and Sudras is a supplement of the Atharva Veda" The Vishnu Smriti (V-191) counts him, who recites a deadly incantation from the Atharva Veda, as one of the seven kinds of assassins. Magic practices against non-relatives which abound in the Atharva Veda, are forbidden by Manu Smriti, Vishnu Smriti &c. (idem pp. 48-50).

The position of the Atharvan in the Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana is, that its practices are familiarly known and not subjected to any criticism (idem p. 51). The Purânas speak of the Atharva Veda with favour, but the Vishnu Purâna and Bhavishya Purâna speak about the Angiras as one of the four Vedas of the Magas, who have been identified with the Magi, (idem p. 20). The reason why Angiras was called a Veda of the Magas is, the fact that that Angiras meant witch-craft. No doubt "sorcery and house-practices there were in India at all times," even from the Rigvedic times downwards (Cf. Rv 1-191, VII-50, VII-104-16). But a change of thought had come round in later times, probably due to excesses in witchcraft and magic. Granting that Angiras was the Veda of magic, it does not follow that it was influenced by Magian doctrines, since magic was not the exclusive property of the Magi. In the Arthsahâshtra it is stated, that a king should employ as Purohita or family priest him, who performed rites according to the Atharva Veda and the king shall follow him. From this, Dr. Spooner concludes that Chânakya was a follower of the Atharva Veda, "which is pre-eminently the Veda of magic.....Consequently there was every likelihood of the ceremonies and doctrines of the Magian people of India, being preserved in such a book, though, of course, in fragments. If the first imperial rulers of India were Persians, it is not strange, that this otherwise singular pre-eminence at court was gained by the Atharvan priesthood."

We cannot answer Dr. Spooner's argument better than in the words of Prof. Max Muller, who says:—"The original division of the Veda.....was a three-fold division. This however proves by no means, that at the time, when the Brâhmanas were composed, the songs of the Atharva Veda did not exist. It only shows, that originally it formed no part of the sacred literature of the Brâhmans. A passage in the Shatapatha Brahmana (XIII-3 1-1) shows,* that at the time when it was composed the

* To illustrate these remarks we shall quote a few passages:— In Manu Smriti (XI-33), the Atharvan and Angiras are recommended as the true weapons with which the Brahman may slay the king's enemies. According to Yâjnavalkya (I-312), the king must choose for his *Purohita* or chaplain one who is skilled in the Atharva Veda. In the Atri Samhita the Atharvan priests skilled in astrology are recommended for the performance of Shrâddhas and sacrifices.

* At first the Vedas were known as three:—Compare Shatapatha Brahmana IV-6-7-1 त्रयी वै विद्या ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि इयं एव "There was three-fold science, namely Rich, Yajush, and Sâma—this only. "See also Sh. Br. XI-5-4-18 and Ait. Br. V-22, Chhandogya Upanishad IV-17-1 and Manusmriti I-23.

songs of the Atharvangiras were not only known, but had been collected, and had actually obtained the title of Veda.... These songs were chiefly intended to counteract the influence of any untoward event, that might happen in the sacrifice. They also contained imprecations and blessings and various formulas..... If once sanctioned, these *Magic* verses would soon grow in importance.....According to the original distribution of the sacrificial offices among the four classes of priests (Brâhman, Bahvricha, Adhvaryu and Chhândoga), the supervision of the whole sacrifice and the remedying of any mistakes, that might happen, belonged to the Brâhman. He had to know the three Vedas to follow in his mind the whole sacrifice. If it was the office of the Brâhman to remedy mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice, and if for that purpose the (magical) formulas of the Atharvangiras were considered of special efficacy, it follows that it was chiefly the Brâhman, who had to acquire a knowledge of the formulas....It was evidently the most important office, and in many instances it was held by the Purohita or the hereditary family priest....Because a knowledge of the songs of the Atharvangiras was most important to the Brâhman or Purohita, these songs, when once admitted to the rank of a Veda, were called the Veda of the Brâhman." (Anc. Sk. Lit. pp. 446-450).

In the last Chapter of the Aitareya Brâhmana and in the Adi Parva of Mahâbhârata, it is seen that it was obligatory on a king to appoint a Purohita or house-priest. According to Yajnavalkya (I, 312) and Gautama (XI-15-17) the king must choose for his Purohita one who is skilled in the Atharvan and Angiras.

We have already quoted a passage from the Vishnu Purâna, which mentions Chânakya as the "Brâhman Kautilya." The Atthakathâ clearly says, that " Chânakko lived in the city of Taxila. He was the son of a certain Brâhman at that place, and a man who had achieved the knowledge of the three Vedas, could rehearse the *mantos* (*i. e.* mantras), was skilful in strategems and dexterous in intrigue as well as policy." (M. Muller's Anc. Sk. Lit. p. 286). Thus we have the clear testimony of the native writings to say, that he was a Brâhman, and not a Zoroastrian.

Exposure of Corpses Among Hindus.

In connection with the Atharva Veda, Dr. Spooner puts up a footnote, which is very important. He suggests, that there is a possible allusion in the Atharva Veda to Parsi funeral customs. Some years ago in a paper read before the Society of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion we showed on the authority of the Atharva Veda and Al-Biruni, that exposure of the corpses was one of the methods followed by the Hindus in ancient times.

In the Atharva Veda (XVIII-2-34) we read :—

ये निखाता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिता:।
सर्वान् तान् अग्न आवह पितॄन् हविषे अत्तवे॥

" They, that are buried, they that are scattered away, they that are burnt, and they that are set up—all those Fathers, O Agni, bring thou to eat oblation." The commentator Sâyana explains उद्धिता: as संस्कारोत्तरकाले ऊर्ध्वदेशे पितृलोके स्थिता: " Standing on an elevated place (and afterwards) in the world of the Fathers, at the time of the disposal ceremony." Whitney says, that "this method refers to the exposure on something elevated, such as is practised by many people." Macdonell and Keith are also of the same opinion (see Vedic Index Vol. I p. 8).

Al-Biruni, in his India, says:—"In the most ancient times, the bodies of the dead were exposed to the air by being thrown on the fields without

any ceremony...Thereupon there appeared a legislator, who ordered people to expose their dead to the wind. In consequence they constructed roofed buildings with walls of rails, through which the wind blew, passing over the dead, as something similar is the case in the grave towers of the Zoroastrians. After they had practised this custom for a long time Nârâyen prescribed to them to hand the dead over to the fire, and ever since they are in the habit of burning them." (India Vol. II, p. 167).

The writer of the Mahâbhârata also speaks of 4 different modes—namely cremation, burial, exposure and disposal of the corpse by drowning it into water.* The following *Shloka* refers to exposure:—

यदा तु तान् वितुदन्ते वयांसि तथा गृध्राः शितिकंठाः पतंगाः। कथं भवंति कथमा भवंति (Adi Parava Chap. 90-17) "When the bodies are eaten up by birds, in what condition do they remain; how are they re-born?" This is spoken in connection with the Hindus.

No doubt exposure was practised by the later Buddhists, as it is practised to this day in Tibet. But it is almost certain, that Buddha never *preached* it; for, if he did, we fail to understand why his own body was cremated by his followers. (S.B. E. X. Intro. p. 31, Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I. p. 341).

According to Vincent Smith exposure was, in the ancient times, the usuage of the Lichhâvis† of Vaisâli, a city 27 miles from Patna. (Hist. of India p. 135; Rapson's Anc. India p. 169; Cunningham's Geogr. p. 443.)

It is also to be noted, that in Jâvâ a sect of the Hindus was said in 1818 to expose the dead to the air as an offering to the sun. (As. Res. XIII. 137. Bom. Gaz. Vol. XIII. p. 440.)

It is therefore incorrect to suppose that the Buddhists adopted the custom of exposure from the Zoroastrians. The custom existed also among the Hindus who may have influenced the Buddhists.

Magadhas.

As we have already seen, Atharva Veda is also called Atharvângiras—Atharvan and Angiras. Now in the Vishnu Purâna there is a statement to the effect, that the Angiras is one of the Vedas of the Sâka-dwipa—the warrior class of which was called Mâgadha, and we are told, that in Sanskrit, "Mâgadha" means not only a resident of Magadha, but also a "Persian warrior" and "half caste."

We admit, that in Manusmriti (X-11-17.), *Mâgadha* is defined as the name of a mixed tribe, who were children of Vaishya fathers and Kshatriya mothers. Similarly in Amarakosha we read:—क्षत्रियायां वैश्याज्जातो मागधः। "One born of a Vaishya father on a Kshatriya woman is a Mâgadha." But we have no proof to show that Magadhas were Persian warriors.

Dr. Spooner points out that in the Atharva Veda (V—22), the Magadhas are spoken of contemptuously, and that in the later work Prabodhachandrodaya* the country Magadha is named among "those inhabited mostly by Mlechhas." (म्लेच्छ-प्राया जनपदाः)

But the answer is that Mlechhas were not necessarily Persians or Zoroastrians. This word Mlechha is used in the Bhavishya Purâna &c. for Christians, Mahomedans and others.

In the Vishnu Purâna it is stated that in Sâka-dvipa the Brâhmans were called Magas, and the Kshatriyas were called Magadhas. Dr.

* Adi Parva, Chap 90 § 6, 17.

† Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushan thinks that "they were a Persian tribe whose original home was Nisibis, which they left for India and Tibet in the 8th and 4th century B. C. respectively" (Indian Antiquary XXXVII. p. 78.)

* Written about the latter half of the 11th century A. D.

Spooner relies upon this Purâna, but the Magadha in the Purâna is a mistake for Mashaka* in Mahâbhârata, which was an earlier work. The Magadhas were not therefore connected with the Magas. The fact that they were spoken of with contempt in the Atharva Veda does not prove that they were Zoroastrians.

We do not say for a moment, that the Persians were not living in the Gangetic valley in ancient times. On the contrary we have ample evidence to show, that they were living in northern India, and had probably got mixed up with the Indian people by ties of marriage or otherwise. We therefore welcome the pregnant notices of the Bhavishya Purâna, that in olden times (probably after 400 A. D.) some Persians or mixed classes of Persians were living in India. †

Saka-dvipa and Magas.

According to Hindu Mythology, the world consists of a number of islands, the usual number being seven. Sâka-dvipa was one of these. Dr. Spooner identifies it with some "vague Persian country" from a notice of the Bhavishya Purâna, which led Dr. Wilson to believe, that the "Magas or silent worshippers of the Sun from Sâka-dvipa were the fire-worshippers from Iran." Now we Zoroastrians do not worship the Sun silently. However we are prepared to concede that these Magas were the Magi, who had come to India some centuries after Christ, and who had got mixed up with the Hindu people in course of time; and it is probably these Magi, that the Bhavishya Purâna refers to.

Garuda and Garonmana.

If the Magadhas *i. e.* Magi came from Sâka-dvipa, how did they do so? Dr. Spooner says, that "the vehicle, by which these Magi entered India was Garuda," and that he was much impressed with the striking resemblance between the sculptured images of Garuda in India, and the usual figure of Ahura-mazda in the ancient Persian art. He was therefore much gratified, when he read the Vendidad passage, namely "I invoke the Garo-nmânem, the abode of Ahurâ-mazda."

Dr. Spooner seems to take "*Garo*" to be in some way connected with "*Garuda*" or "*Garutmat.*" But there is no such connection.. "*Garo,*" "*Gara*" or "*Garonmâna*" means "the abode of songs" from *gar* (गॄ) to sing." This idea that the heaven is the abode of songs is also found in the Rigveda (X-135-7).

The discussion of the vehicle, Garuda, leads the worthy Doctor to think of the Gâruda Purâna. According to Dr. Wilson, Gâruda Purâna shows nothing in its contents, which could justify the name, as it deals with Sun-worship, astrology, &c. Hence, Dr. Spooner guesses, that this Purâna is "a document of local Indo-Zoroastrian origin."

The answer is that Garuda* is the Sun-bird, the Sun itself. In the often quoted verse of the Rigveda, दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गुरुत्मान् "He is heavenly noble-winged Garutman" (Rv. I-164-46), Garutman is the celestial bird, namely the Sun. Therefore it is but natural that the Purâna about Garuda or the Sun, should deal with the Sun-worship.

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* Mahâbhârata Bhishma Parva XI, 84-36, Roy's Tr. p. 38.

† The Purânas are 18 in number. Dutt assigns them the period between 500 to 1000 A. D. According to Vincent Smith the Vâyu Purâna is the oldest and was written in about 400 A. D. (Early Hist. of India p. 25). Dr. Wilson supposed that the story of the Magas in Bhavishya Purâna had a reference to the Parsis who had come to India after their flight in the 8th century A. D. On the other hand the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says that the account of the introduction of fire-worshipping priests of Persia belongs to the 6th century ascendancy of the fire-worshipping Mihiras. (Gaz. IX. Pt. II. p. 183).

* In M. Bh, he is the brother of Aruna, the Charioteer of the Sun. (Adi Parva Chap. 31 §34).

Yavanas.

Now the question is :—"Who were Yavanas"? The word "Yavana" was usually applied to the Greeks in olden times and we have the authority of one of the inscriptions of Asoka to say so; for, as we have already seen, Antiochus has been there called a "Yona" rajâ. In the Kanheri inscription No. VIII a Greek architect, named Dhenukakati (Xenocrates) who lived in about the first century B.C. is mentioned. He is expressly called *Yavana* in the Karle inscription No. XIV. (B.B.R.A.S. V. pp. 20, 156, 176). Dr. Wilson reads the name as *Dhanakkaja* and identifies it with Theonikos (B.B.R. A.S. IV. p. 372). But two centuries afterwards we find, that in the Girnar inscription of Rudradâman (150 A.D.), *Tushâspa*, who was a Persian officer of Asoka was called a Yavana râja.

The word "Yavana" has attracted the attention of several scholars. In E. J. Rapson's opinion:—"The Persians became acquainted with the Greeks chiefly through the Ionian colonists, and therefore came to use the term *Yauna*, "Ionians," which occurs in the inscriptions of Darius in a wider sense to denote *Greeks*..... The corresponding Indian forms (Sk. *Yavana* and Prakrit *Yona*), which were borrowed from Persia, have the same meaning in the Indian literature, and inscriptions of *the last three centuries before and the first two centuries after the Christian era*. At a late date, these terms were used in India to denote *foreigners* generally"* (Anc. India p. 86).

According to Prof. Weber, under the name Yavana we are to understand the Bactrian Greeks or their successors. The name Yavana passed from the Greeks over to their Indo-Scythian successors and finally to the Arabs (See Indian Antiquary I p. 178).

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says:—"That the Indians called the Greeks only Yavanas during the three centuries preceding the Christian era and about as many after, is a fact. Asoka calls Antiochus, king of Syria, a Yona-râjâ. Milinda or Menander is so styled in the Milindapanho (a Pâli work), and in the Gârgi Samhitâ the Yavanas are spoken of as good astronomers; wherefore the Greeks must have been meant. Kanishka and his successors are called Turushkas in the Râjatarangini, and the Indo-Scythians, who overran a large part of the country, were called Sakas. Persians or Parthians are spoken of as Pahlavas; and the Huns, who poured into the country are styled Hunas." (B.B.R.A.S. XVI-p.215).

Dr. Spooner states that the word *Yavana* meant a Zoroastrian. We agree with him so far as to admit that in later times, namely after the second or third century A.D., Yavana meant a "*foreigner*," including probably a Zoroastrian. We have, therefore, nothing positive to assert, that the Yavanas who invaded Orissa between 538 and 421 B.C., and again between 421 and 300 B.C. were Zoroastrians, as Dr. Spooner supposes.

Legend about Yavana King.

But in order to prove, that the Yavanas were Persian tribes, Dr. Spooner brings into requisition certain legends from the Purânas. He refers to the Yavana king Bhagadatta, who was a king of Prâgjyotisha, and tries to determine his nationality. The name Bhagadatta might be a Sanskrit form of a Persian name, the first part of which is the Avesta word *Baga*. Prâgjyotisha* might be a

* In the Chitorgadh inscription of the prince Mokala of Mewad dated Samvat Vikrama 1485, the words *Yavana* and *Saka* are used for the Mahomedans (See Epigraphia Indica Vol. II p. 409).

* Mr. A. K. Mozumdar says:—"In Jyotisha *i. e.* astronomy, Brahma, Garga, Vivasvan and other seers were very great. It is said that Brahma, when he lived in Kâmarupa (Assam) for some years for pene-

Magian settlement because the word signified " astrology "—in which science the Persians were experts. Therefore the learned Doctor concludes, that the king was a Persian and was the ruler of a Persian settlement. Moreover the king was called an Asura, and was the ally of the king Kâlayavana, who attacked Mathurâ with the help of a number of Mlechhas. Also when Prâgjyotisha was attacked and stormed, it contained 21 lakhs of horses from Kâmboja, a country "near the Pâradas and Pahlavas on the confines of Persia."

We regret to say, that it is extremely risky to build up theories on words, such as "Bhaga" and "jyotish," which however are purely Sanskrit in form. The fact, that Kâlayavana was assisted by the Mlechhas does not prove, either that he was a Persian or that the Mlechhas were Persians. Nor does the presence of Kâmboja horses in Prâgjyotisha prove, that it was a Persian settlement.

Dr. Spooner has referred to the Purâna stories relating to Bhagadatta but has omitted to give the story about the same king, which we come across in the 26th Chapter of the Sabhâ Parva of Mahâbhârata. Arjuna wanted to conquer the whole world. Having defeated the kings of the Shâkala-dwipa and Sapta-dwipa he invaded Prâgjyotisha. At the time there was a great king named Bhagadatta ruling there, with whom the Pândavas fought many battles. Having fought with Arjuna for 8 days, Bhagadatta thus spoke to him :—अहं सखा महेन्द्रस्य शक्रादनवरोरणे, न शक्ष्यामि च ते तात स्थातुं प्रमुखतो युधि ॥

"I am the *friend* of the great Indra, and am in no way inferior to him in warfare ; but I am unable, O father, to stand against you in battle." Here then we have an important statement. Bhagadatta was a friend (that is a worshipper) of the great god Indra, and was therefore a Hindu. The Zoroastrians always hated Indra as an enemy of their religion (Vendidad XIX-43).

Sakti and Sakta Cult.

Dr. Spooner then proceeds to trace the origin of the goddess *Sakti* to a Persian or Magian origin. He says :—" The goddess Ishtar was perhaps the most popular divinity among the Persians, particularly associated with the Asuras and Dânavas. Witness the compounds *Asuragura* (teacher of the Asuras) and *Dânavapujita* (worshipped by the Dânavas), both of which are Sanskrit names for Venus.....Are not the Tântrik system and the Sâkta cult a development on the Indian soil of the sympathetic magic rites in connection with this goddess (Ishtar), as the symbol of fertility, which Jastrow tells of ? This unravels for us the whole mystery * to which Wilson calls attention. Furthermore this explains the curious fact mentioned to me by Mahâ-mahopâdhyâya Haraprasâd Shâstri, that according to his own researches, the Sakadvipin Brâhmans were specially associated with this cult."

Our answer is that Ishtar was not a Persian or Magian goddess, but she was a Babylonian divinity. After the conquest of Elam by the Medes and Persians, the old goddess Innana (of Erech) was identified with Anâhita and under that name enjoyed extensive homage...The cult of Anâhita spread from Iran to the west. *Anâhita* (*Ardvisura*) was the goddess of sacred waters. Under the influence of the

tential purpose, made certain astronomical observations. Hence that country received the name *Prâg-jyotisha* (first astronomy)" (Hindu History p. 141). According to Prof. Apte Prag-Jyotisha was the capital of Kamarupa on the Brahmaputra.

* Namely, that Assam, or at least the north-east Bengal, seems to have been, in a great degree, the source from which the Tântrik and Sakta corruptions of the Religion of the Vedas and Purânas proceeded.

Chaldean star-worship, * *Anâhita or Nâhida* became the planet Venus.

The Indian goddess *Sakti* or *Durgâ* who was worshipped by her devotees, called the Sâktas, cannot be compared with the Iranian divinity Anâhita; because Sakti was the mother of all, the creatress even of Brahmâ, Vishnu and Shiva; whereas Anâhita occupied a very subordinate position to Ahura Mazda. The Hindu divinity, who was identified with Venus was not the goddess Durgâ, but the god Sukrâchârya, the preceptor of the Asuras.

It is not correct to say, that "the Sâka-dvipin Brâhmans were specially associated with the Sakta cult." The history of the Sâkadvipiya, Bhojaka or Maga Brâhmans shows, that they were associated with the worship of the *Sun and Stars*. For example, in the *Brihat-samhita* of Varâhamihira (587 A.D.) it is stated, that "the consecration of the images and temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas."†

Who were Sakas?

This leads us to a consideration of the word *Saka*, which according to Herodotus, Fleet, Max Muller, Buhler, Telang and others means the Scythians. Dr. Spooner admits the correctness of this meaning, but argues that the word for a long time also meant "men of Sâka-dvipa," that is to say, the Iranians. Consequently he says that the Sakas, who lived in Gujarat and northern India in the early times were Iranians. Several scholars have dealt with the question as to who the Sakas were and where they came from. We propose to give short extracts from their books.

Von. Schlegel says that the Sakas were nomad tribes, inhabiting Central Asia, the Scythians of the Greeks whom the Persians also, as Herodotus tells us, called Sakae, just as the Indians did. (Lib. VII 64; Griffith's Ramayana p. 66). In the inscriptions of Darius we find, that one of the nations conquered by Darius was the Saka (Col. I para 6).

According to Vincent Smith the Sakas or the Se (Sek.) of Chinese histories were a horde of pastoral nomads, occupying the territory to the west of the Wu-sun horde, apparently situated between the Chu and Jaxartes (or Syr Daryâ) rivers to the north of the Alexander mountains. Strabo clearly stated, that the Sakae came from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes. Megasthenes said, that on the north of India and beyond the Himalayas, the country was inhabited by those Scythians, who were called Sakai. About 163 B. C. they were expelled from their pasture grounds by another horde, the Yueh Chi, and compelled to move in the southerly direction. The flood of the barbarian invasion burst upon Bactria about 140–130 B. C. The Saka flood, pouring on, surged into the valley of the Helmund river, and so filled that region, the modern Sistan, that it became known as Sakastene * or the Saka country. Other branches of the barbarian stream, which penetrated the Indian passes, deposited settlement at Taxila in the Punjab, and Mathura on the Jamnâ, where they displaced the native Râjas and ruled for several generations, assuming the ancient Persian title of Satrap. They were seemingly in subordination of the Parthian power. Probably they recognized Mithridates I. (174 to 136 B. C.) and his successors...as their over-lords. They could not otherwise

* Such is the view of the Enclyclo. of Religion and Ethics I p. 415- *b*. see Bundehishna chap. V.

† See R. Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 153-163

* Isidorus of Charax, who lived about the beginning of the Christian era, gives the name of *Sakastene* to the greater part of Drangiana, and calls the people Saka-Scythians (Cunningham's Archæological Reports II. p. 45.) The Sakas are mentioned in the Jain inscription No. 82 of about the first century B. C. One Gotiputra is called a black serpent (=a great fighter) who fought with them (Epigraphia Indica I-394).

have adopted the Persian title of Satrap. Another section of the horde, at a later period, pushed southwards and occupied the peninsula of Saurâshtra and Kâthiawad, founding a Saka dynasty, which lasted for centuries and was overthrown in 395 A. D. (V. Smith's Early Hist. of India pp. 186, 187, 200, 202, 218, 255; Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I p. 223).

Mr. Telang observed, that the Sakas were a tribe, inhabiting countries on the north-west frontier of India 'between the Indus and the sea.' They gave their name to the royal dynasty, from which the Marâthi word शक, meaning era, is derived. * Mr Telang is supported by the writer of Periplus (A. D. 250). (Bom. Gaz. I Pt.I. p. 543), who calls the valley of the Lower Indus Scythia.

Sir A. Cunningham says:—"From Kipin (=Kabul), the Sakas rapidly extended their conquests to the eastward, until they occupied the whole valley of the Indus. Ptolemy apparently limits his district of Indo-Scythia to the province of Sindh, below the junction of the five rivers .....The author of the Erythræan Periplus † calls the countries at the mouth of the Indus 'the sea-board of Scythia,' but the capital which he names Minnagar, was at some distance inland." (see Archæological Reports, II. pp. 45-46).

It is easy to see, that Plotemy, Telang and the author of Periplus give the habitation of the Sakas of *much later times*.‡ What we are concerned with is to know the *original* home of Sakas in 477 B. C., when Gautama Buddha died. Also the fact that about the year 160 B. C., the Sakas were under the domination of the Persian kings, and were influenced by the Zoroastrian religion, does not prove that they were Zoroastrians in the days of Sâkya Muni, that is, Gautama Buddha. They were then the enemies of the Persians.

E. J. Rapson also points out, that Herodotus expressly states that the term Sakas was used by the Persians to denote Scythians generally. It is true, that some of the Sakas were connected with the Pahlavas; but that was the case in *about the first century B. C. and first century A. D.* for, says Rapson:—"There is evidence of an intimate connection between Pahlavas and Sakas, *i. e.* between the family of (the Pahlava) Volones, with the family of (the Saka) Maues. This connection appears to be proclaimed by certain coins, on which Spalirises the brother of the king Volones is definitely associated to Azes who was almost certainly the successor of Maues. The family of Volones ruled in Seistan, Kandahar and north Baluchistan, and that of Maues ruled in the West Punjab and Sindh, until towards the end of the first quarter of the first century A. D., the two kingdoms were united under the sway of the Pahlava Gondopharnes, as to the Parthian character of whose name there can be no possible doubt." (Rapson's Anc. India pp. 144-5 & 184).

Thus then we see that a Saka line of rulers was connected with the Pahlavas, and were probably influenced by the religion of the latter only *in about the first century before Christ*. We have no evidence before that date.

Were Sakyas Zoroastrians?

Dr. Spooner says, that the word *Sâka* is the same as *Saka*, and reminds one of *Sâka-dwipa*; and as the Sâkas or Sakas were Zoroastrians, Sâka-dwipa was necessarily the land or home of the Zoroastrian Magi. Further up the learned doctor points

* Mudra Rakshasha intro. p. 28; V. Smith's His. of India p. 207.

† A sailing directory for Greek Merchants; see Pandit Bhagvanlal's Remains at Sopara, p. 6.

‡ The Sakas invaded N. W. India in about 100 B. C. (Rapson's Anc. India p. 184).

out, that in the Vishnu Purâna and in the Mahâbhârata there is a description of the Sâka-dwipa whence came the Magians. He has quoted for our information the passage from the Mahâbhârata, that "there was a mighty *Sâka-tree* in the Sâkadwipa," and that "there was no king there."

But we regret, that he has omitted to tell us from the same Chapter of the Mahâbhârata (Bhishma Parva XI-28), that the people of the Sâkadwipa always adored the above-said Sâka tree, and that in that island *Shiva was worshipped.* Are we ready to believe, that the Zoroastrians or the Magians were ever devoted to the worship of Shiva? Besides it should be noted that "this Sâkadwipa was surrounded on all sides by ocean." If so it may well have been the country between the Indus and the Sea; although according to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer it was Sakastene, since that "name explains the statement in the Bhavishya Purâna, that Sunworsbip was introduced by Magas into Multân from Sâkadwipa, the land of the Sakas," (Bom. Gaz. I. Pt. I. p. 143), and that "the Multân sun-worship was introduced under Sassanian influence" (idem p. 142).

Leaving aside the question whether Sâkadwipa was Seistan or the country between Indus and the sea, one thing seems certain that it was situated in the west.

Dr. Spooner argues that from Sâka we get the lost form "Sâkiya," from which came "Sâkya." The original home of the Sâkyas being Sâkadvipa (as the etymology proclaims), the ancestors of Buddha, the Sâkyas of Kapila-vastu are not to be differentiated from the other Sâkadvipins, or in other words the ancestors of Buddha were the inhabitants of the land of the Sakas and were Zoroastrians. For this reason and for many other reasons to be mentioned hereafter, we are asked to believe, that Buddha was a Zoroastrian.

We have seen that Sâkadvipa was in the west; and Dr. Spooner admits it. On the other hand, Kapila-vastu, which was the birth-place of Buddha, was in the Sâkya territory at the foot of the Nepal hills, in what is now known as the Nepalese Tarai. This Sâkya territory was bordered on the north by the Himalaya Mountains, on the east by the river Rohini, and on the west and south by the river Achirâvati (Râpti). It was to the north of the modern Basti and Gorakhapur districts, and was a dependency of Kosala, the modern Oudh. (V. Smith's Hist. of India pp. 24-25, 139; Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I p. 320; Rapson's Anc. India p. 161). Therefore we have reasons to believe, that *Sâka-dwipa* was quite distinct from the *territory of the Sâkyas*, and that the Sâkyas had no connection with the Sakas.

Sakyas and Next-of-kin Marriage.

Dr. Spooner tries to support his theory by relying upon a legend of the Sâkyas, which is as follows:— A king named Ambattha sent his sons into exile at the instance of his most favourite wife. They took with them their sisters. They met the sage Kapila on the shore of a lake surrounded by a forest of Sâka trees and there they settled. In the absence of suitable wives in that locality, they wedded their own sisters. This act delighted their father when he heard of it, and he cried out शक्या वत भो राजकुमाराः परमशक्या भो कुमाराः "Clever indeed are the princes, they are indeed extremely clever."

We can see, that in the above passage, there is evidently a pun on the word शक्य or शाक्य. Now the statement, that the Sâkyas married their own sisters, points to a similar custom attributed (wrongly in our opinion) to the Zoroastrians or Magians of olden times. And for this

reason Dr. Spooner concludes that the Sâkyas "were of Zoroastrian origin." We shall see hereafter that some of the ancient Hindus also practised next-of-kin marriages. If so, the statement that the Sâkya princes married their sisters, does not conclusively prove, that they were Zoroastrians.

Buddha a Zoroastrian!

The discussion of the word Sâkya leads us to think of the great Sâkya Muni, Gautama Buddha (B. C. 537 to 477). Relying upon certain external and internal circumstances the learned Doctor does not hesitate to put forward the astounding theory, that Buddha too was a Zoroastrian.

(1) One of the external circumstances has been referred to above, namely that the Sâkyas of Kapilavastu, the ancestors of Buddha practised next-of-kin marriages like the Magians or Zoroastrians, and that therefore they were identical with these people.

Next-of-kin Marriages—Persians, Hindus, &c.

We have shown elsewhere that the so-called next-of-kin marriages referred to in our religious books were but legendary descriptions of certain natural phenomena and that they were misinterpreted by some ruling monarchs for their nefarious object.* It is impossible to believe, that the religion sanctioned the alleged practices or that masses of Zoroastrians indulged in them. But are not such practices referred to in the Hindu books? Stories of the incest of Prajâpati with his daughter are related in several books—such as the Aitareya Brâhmana, Shatapatha Brahmana, Pancha-vimsha Brahmana, and even in the Rigveda (Ait. Br. 3-33, Sha. Br. I-7-4-1ff, Pan. Br. 8-2-10, Rv. I-71-5).* Kumârila, the well-known opponent of Buddhism and the predecessor of Shankarâchârya correctly explains this fable. He says "Prajâpati, the Lord of Creation, is the name of the sun, and is so called because he protects all creatures. His daughter Ushas is the Dawn. And when it is said, that he was in love with her, this only means, that at sun-rise, the Sun runs after Dawn."

Similarly we find in the Rigveda, (VI-55-4-5, I-115-2) that Pushana is the paramour of his own sister Dawn and his own mother Suryâ. Now Pushana is nothing but the sun and Suryâ the light of the sun. Thus the fable relates the close connection of the sun with the dawn, and its own light. (Dutt's Anc. India Vol. I. p. 186).

Similar legends are found in our religious books† also. In the beginning of creation, the male element was Ahura-mazda himself. He created Spendarmad, who was therefore his own daughter. This was the first female element. Ahuramazda married his daughter, and Gayomard, the primitive man, was born from the earth. Here then we have a philosophical legend of the creation of the first man; and it indicates the divine and earthly elements of which man is made.‡ Further we are told, that Gayomard married

* For the story of Bahman marrying his so-called sister Homâya see Kutâr's Shahname Vol. VII. p. 8 and preface. According to Herodotus Cambysis married his sisters; but Herodotus clearly says that no Iranian married his sister before Cambysis (Herodotus III. § 31).

* Also in Rv. X-61-4 to 7, and Bhagvata Purâna III-12-28ff. See also Muir's Sk. Texts V. pp. 45-47.

† Dinkard II. Chap. 80 by Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjana.

‡ Cf. Bhagvad Gita XIV. §§ 3-4:—
मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम्। संभवः सर्व भूतानां ततो भवति भारत ॥ सर्व योनिषु कौन्तेय मूर्तयः संभवन्ति याः। तासां ब्रह्म महद्योनिरहं बीजप्रदः पिता ॥

"My womb is the great Brahma; in that I (Shri Bhagavân) place the germ; thence comes the birth of all beings, O Bhârata. In whatever wombs mortals are produced, O Kauntiya, the great Brahma is their womb, I their generating father."

Spendarmad, who was his own mother. They became the parents of Mashi and Mashyâni, the first human twins, who married and begot the human race. The author of this legend did not care to see, that it contained a very obnoxious principle. It was, however, readily caught hold of by some unscrupulous kings and their followers.

The same was probably the case with at least three sects of the Hindus, namely the Gandharas, people of the Uttara Kurus and Pandias; and as early Buddhism was a sect of Hinduism (as we shall see hereafter,) it would not be wrong to infer, that the Buddhists might have borrowed their custom of the next-of-kin marriage from these Hindus.

Unlawful Marriages Among Gandharas.

The *Râjtarangimi* which is a Sanskrit chronicle of the Kashmir kings written by Kahlâna Pandita in the 12th century A.D. *is a book dealing with several important points of history. One of the passages in this book relating to the Gandhara Brahmans runs thus:—अग्रहारान् जगृहिरे गांधारब्राह्मणास्ततः । ..... भगिनीवर्गसंभोगनिर्लज्जाः म्लेच्छवंशजाः । स्नुषासंगतिसक्ताश्च दारदाः संति पापिनः । "Then the Gândhâra Brâhmans took rent-free lands. They were descendants of Mlechhas and were shameless to consort with (their) sisters. These sinners, who were attached to the intercourse with their daughters-in-law offered their wives (to others)." (Raj. Tar. I. 307 ff.)

Now who were these Gândhâra Brâhmans? The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer thinks, that the Râjatarangini describes the Mâgadhas as Gândhâra Brâhmanas brought by Mihirakula (A. D. 450-530), who were the lowest of Brâhmans, the accursed children of Mlechhas, marrying their own sisters. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. 9. pt, I. p, 440). As we have already stated, Dr. Spooner identifies the Mâgadhas with the Persians. It would follow, that the Gândhâra Brâhmans were Persians. We have however shown that the Magadhas were not Persians. The Gandharâs were Indians for the following reasons:—

(1.) The Gândhâra Brâhmans are mentioned in the Karna Parva of the Mahâbhârata (verse 2076 ff), where we read:— भवत्येकः कुले विप्रः प्रसूता: कामचारिणः । गांधाराः मद्रकाश्चैव बाहिकाश्चालपचेतसः ॥ "The senseless Gândhâras, Madrakâs and Bâhikâs are lustful and without restraint; (but) only one in a family *is a Brâhman.*"

(2). In the Shatapatha Brahmana there is an allusion to a royal sage Svarjit, son of Nagnajit, the Gândhâra, which runs thus:—अथ ह स्म अह स्वर्जिद् नाग्नजितः । नाग्नजिद्वा गांधार । ...यत् स तदुवाच राजन्यबंधुरिव त्वचे तदुवाच । "Then Svarjit, son of Magnajit spoke. Now Nagnajit was a Gândhâra. This which he spoke, he spoke as if he were a Kshatriya brother."

(3) Nagnajit, the Gândhara is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brâhmana (VII-34) as one of the persons, who received instruction of a particular rite from Parvata and Nârada.

(4) In the Mahâbhârata (I-2439, 24 41) we read:—"Nagnajit (the disciple of Prahlâda) and Subala were then born.....Two children were born to the king of Gândhâra (Subala), Shakuni Saubala and the mother of Duryodhana."

As Dr. Muir says, these passages are sufficient to show, that the Gândhâras were a people, with whom the Aryans of India were in the habit of holding intercourse and contracting affinity. Prof. Wilson notes that these Gândhâras were a people found both on the west of the Indus and in the Punjab and were well known to classical writers

* Dutt's Anc. India Vol. V. p. 42.

as Gandarii * and Gandaridæ (Vishnu Parâna p. 191; As. Res. XV-105).. Lassen concludes that "though in individual passages of the Mahâbhârata hatred and contempt are expressed in reference to the tribes living on the Indus, yet there is no trace of these tribes being ever regarded as of non-Indian origin. That there was no essential difference in their language is proved by the testimony of Pânini."

We therefore conclude with Dr. Muir, that the tract of the country to the west of the Indus was inhabited by races of Aryan origin *and of common descent with the Indians.* (Muir's Sk. Texts Vol. II pp. 483, 484, 353-356).

We may here say that in view of a passage in the Atharva Veda, the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer is not correct, when he identifies the Gândharas with the Mâgadhas. The passage runs thus:—"As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest among the *Bahlikas*. † Go Takman, to the Mujavats, or far away to the Bahlikas.....We transfer Takman, as a servant, and as a treasure, to the Gandhâris, the Mujavats, the Angas and the Magadhas" (Av. V- 22-5, 7, 14). Now as Dr. Muir says:—"The Mujavats, being mentioned along with the Bahlikas,† a Bactrian race, and with the Gandhâris, may be a hill tribe in the north-west of India.....The Angas and Magadhas were, on the contrary, tribes living in South Behar. We have thus in the verse two nations situated to the north-west and two to the south-west." (Muir's Sk. Texts Vol. II pp. 351-352). It will thus be seen, that the Gandhâris were totally distinct from the Mâgadhas. This is further seen from Varâha Mihira's Brihat Samhitâ (chap. XIV), in which Magadha is classed among the countries in the east and Gandhâra among the countries in the north (see J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. 5. pp. 82, 86).

Thus then the Gândhâras who practised illicit marriages were Hindus and not Persians.

Incest Among Uttara Kuru Tribes.

The practice of the next-of-kin marriage was prevalent among the people of the Uttara Kurus also. In the Bhishma Parva of the Mahâbhârata (Sec. VII.) there is an account of these people. Verses Nos. 7 to 12 run thus:—

देवलोकच्युताः सर्वे जायंते तत्र मानवाः। शुक्लभिजनसंपन्नाः सर्वे सुप्रियदर्शनाः॥ मिथुनानि च जायन्ते स्त्रियश्चाप्सरसोपमाः। तेषां ते क्षीरिणां क्षीरं पिबन्ति अमृतसंनिभम्॥ मिथुनं जायते काले समंतत् च प्रवर्धते। तुल्यरूपगुणोपेतं समवेषं तथैव च॥ एवमेव अनुरूपं च चक्रवाकसमं विभो। निरामयाश्च ते लोका नित्यं उदितमानसाः॥ दशवर्षसहस्राणि दशवर्षशतानि च। जीवंति ते महाराज न चान्योऽन्यं जहत्युत॥ भारुंडानामशकुनाः तीक्ष्णतुंडामहाबलाः। तान् निर्हरंति इह मृतान् दरीषु प्रक्षिपंति च॥

"All men there take birth (as if) fallen from heaven. All are of pure birth and are extremely handsome. There twins (of opposite sexes) are born, the women resembling Apsaras in beauty. They drink the milk, sweet as Amrit, of those milk-giving trees. And the twins born there grow up equally; both (male and female being) possessed of equal beauty, both endowed with similar

* Cunningham says:—Gandhara is described by Strabo under the name *Gandaritis* as lying along the river Kophes, between the Choaspes and the Indus. Its chief towns were Pushkâlâvati (Peukelaotis), Varusha (Paladheri), Sâlâtura (Lahor) and Parashâwara (Peshawar). (See Ancient Geography of India p. 47 ff). It corresponds with the modern districts of Peshawar. (Archæological Survey Reports I. p. 15). Gandhara is placed by Lassen to the west of the Indus and south of the Kabul river. (See Muir's Sanskrit Texts II. p. 342),

† The view of Roth and Weber, which Zimmer once accepted namely that this was an Iranian tribe (cf. Balkh) is not accepted by Macdonell and Keith. (Vedic Index Vol. II p. 68).

virtues and both equally dressed; thus, O king, *both grow up in love, like a couple of Chakra-vâka birds.* These persons are free from illness and are always cheerful. Ten thousand and ten hundred years they live, O king, and *never abandon each other.* A class of birds called Bhârundâ, furnished with sharp beaks and possessed of great strength, take them up, *when dead,* and *throw them into mountain caves."*

We have here references to the practices of next-of-kin marriage and exposure of dead bodies. The Commentator, while explaining चक्रवाकौ says:—चक्रवाकौ सहचरौ पक्षिदंपती. "The Chakravakas are bird-couples, who move together." Hence it is suggested that the twins lived as husband and wife. Further up the Commentator explains न जहति thus:—सममेव द्वौ अपि शरीरं त्यजतः। "The couples abandon their bodies together." This evidently refers to the custom of Sati, in which the wife consigned her body to the flames along with her dead husband.

Now who were these people of the Uttara or Northern Kurus? Aitareya Brahmana (VIII, 13-14) shows that they were Hindus. They could not have been Zoroastrians in view of the Sati practice which prevailed among them. According to M. M. Kunte these people and the Madrâs lived on the Punjab side of the Himalayas. (See Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India p. 374).

Incest Among Pandias.

Mr. Vaidya says:—"The curious story is related by Greek authors, that Heracles (*i. e.* Krishna) had a daughter by name Pandia, on whom he raised progeny by incest, and assigned it to a country, which lies to the south and extends to the sea (McCrindle's Ancient India). Here is a jumble of names and facts. The Pandavas were no doubt the sons of Krishna's father's sister, and his own sister was the mother of the next heir. But the Pandias were a different race of Indians altogether who settled in the south of India, and among whom peculiar marriage institutions obtained (probably copied from the native inhabitants), such as the marriage between sisters and brothers. The same story has been copied by Ferishta" (Vaidya's Mahâbhârata p. 67).

Comment is unnecessary. We think, that in view of the above facts it is high time that the general idea that the customs of the next-of-kin marriage and exposure of corpses were peculiar to the "Zoroastrians* or Magians is either modified or given up.

Gaya, Buddha's Holy Place.

(2) The second external circumstance, which we have to consider is, that Gautama selected Gayâ as his centre. According to the Dabestân. "The ancient Persians claimed Gayâ as a temple of their foundation, where Gayâ (that is, Kaiwân or the planet Saturn) was worshipped. Dr. Spooner thinks, that it is now intelligible what the author of the Dabestan meant. "Gayâ was an early seat of Magian worship. Gautama Buddha, as a religious student went thither as to the holy place of his own people, the Zoroastrians. The Magian Brâhmans, who did not accept his reforms, had held the spot sacred before his time, and his followers naturally held it doubly sacred after him."

Let us however see, what the Dabestan says on the subject. After referring to the fire-temples in Iran the writer says:—"They also assert, that there were fire-temples in several parts of India, as in Dwârkâ was the temple of Saturn, called Dizh-i-Kaivân (Saturn's fort), which the Hindus turned into Dwârkâ.

* For incest among other nations see Genesis XI-29, XX-12, Exodus VI-20, Mc. Lennan's Anc. Hist. pp.175.177; Fraser's Adonis Attis Osiris pp. 394-397.

And in Gyâ * also was an idol-temple, called Gâh-i-Kaivân (or Saturn's residence), which was turned into Gyâ. In Mahtrâ also was an idol-temple of Saturn, the name of which was Mahetar; that is, chiefs or Mahetar resorted thither, which word by degrees became Mahtrâ" (Shea and Troyer Vol. I. pp. 52-53).

Now Dwârkâ, Gayâ and Mathurâ are pure Sanskrit words. But the author of the Dabestan, who belonged to comparatively modern times, wanted to derive these names anyhow from Persian words, because he had heard, that there were Parsi fire-temples there. It may be, that Gayâ was a holy city of the Hindus in ancient times, (and no doubt that was so, as we see in the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana,† &c.), it may be that Buddha was born in this holy city, it may be that, the Zoroastrians built their fire-temples in this city, but are we justified in concluding from these premises, that Buddha was a Zoroastrian? Why could it not be, that this city was a holy place of all the three religions at different times or possibly even at one and the same time?

As to Dwârkâ, it was an ancient town built by Krishna and destroyed by an inundation of the sea (Vishnu Purana pp. 566, 613). It actually exists as a town with a celebrated temple in Gujarat. We have already seen that according to the writer of the Bombay Gazetteer "The Hindu account of the fire-worshipping priests from Persia into Dwârkâ probably belongs to the 6th century-ascendancy of the fire-worshipping Mihiras or Gurjjaras and white Huns" (Bom. Gaz. IX pt. II. p. 183 note).

Parallelisms Between Buddhism & Zoroastrianism.

Dr. Spooner then adduces internal proofs, which have been noted by Spiegel and others. We must say that these same parallelisms were noted long ago by our learned friend Mr. G. K. Nariman to show the influence of our religion on Buddhism.

The learned Doctor notes the following parallelisms :—

(1) Zarathushtra planted a cypress tree before the fire-temple; Gautama planted the bo-tree at Bodh-Gayâ.

(2) Kharenangha or kingly glory is mentioned in our religion. This closely resembled the Chakravartin idea of the Buddhists.

(3) The Fravashi of Zarathushtra was seen by Geush Urvan as residing in heaven long before his birth; similarly Gautama's spirit was in heaven long before he was born.

(4) In both the religions the heaven was the region of "eternal light."

(5) The doctrine of future millennial prophets in our religion, is analogus to that of the Boddhisatvas.

(6) The Buddhist books mention the "heaven of 33 gods." We have 33 ratus, 33 Firashtâs 33 forms of ordeal &c.

(7) When Zarathushtra was conceived in his mother's womb, Vohuman and Ashavahishta conveyed to earth his Fravashi which combined with Khureh and material body. Similarly at the birth of Gautama, Brahmâ and Indra attended, as is seen from the bas-reliefs.

(8) All nature rejoiced at the birth of Zarathushtra, and similarly at the birth of Buddha. The evil attempts made to kill the infant Zoroaster are analogous

* In the foot-note the translators say, that "the true name is Gayâ, a town in the province of Behar, 35 miles south of Patna. It is one of the holy places of the Hindus, to which pilgrimages are performed. It was made holy by the benediction of Vishnu, who granted its sanctity to the piety of Gayâ, the Rajarshi, or according to another legend to Gaya, the Asura, who was overwhelmed by the deities with rocks. This place is also considered by some Hindus either as the birth-place or as the residence of Buddha."

† Râmâyana Bk. II. Ch. 107, and Kathâ-sarit-sagara Vol. II. p. 333. M. Bh. Vana Parva Chap. 84 §§ 82, 96, 97; Garuda Purâna Chap. 13.

to the attempts made on the life of the infant Buddha.

(9) At the age of 30, both Zarathushtra and Buddha received enlightenment or divine light of revelation. After the revelation came the temptation by evil fiends in the case of both the prophets.

(10) Asoka was a true copy of Vishtâspa—both being famous for their proselytising zeal.

From all these circumstances, Dr. Spooner arrives at the conclusion, that " Buddha's system was an adaptation of the Magian faith to Indian conditions," or in other words Buddhism was a cult of Persian origin, wherein both Magians and Hindus were united in one common fold."

Buddhism originated from Hinduism.

We regret, we cannot agree to the conclusion of the learned Doctor. All the scholars are unanimous that Buddhism was a modification of Hinduism. We give below the opinions of some of them.

Prof. Max Muller says:—" Although Buddhism, as a religious, social and philosophical system is a reaction against Brahmanism, there is an unbroken continuity between the two.....Buddha himself shows no hostility to the Brâhmans in general, nor does he seem to have been fond of arguing against Brâhmanism.....What he attacks is Brâhmanic sacrifice, as it had been developed in the Brâhmanas, the privileges arrogated to their caste by the Brâhmans, and the claim of a divine revelation set up for the Veda, particularly by the Brâhmans." (Physical Religion pp. 94-95).

In another place the same scholar says," Buddha learned the Rigveda and was proficient in all the branches of Brahmanical lore. His pupils were many of them Brâhmans, and no hostile feeling against the Brâhmans finds utterance in the Buddhist canon. Buddhism in its original form, was only a modification of Brâhmanism" (Anc. Sk. Lit. pp. 261-262).

Ganga Prasad in his book, the " Fountain Head of Religion " tries to show, that Buddhism was based on the Vedic religion. He says :— " Buddhism spread in this country, because originally it was only a righteous protest against the unjust distinction of caste, cruel slaughter of animals, and an appeal for the practice of virtue and morality " (p. 59).

Dutt says :—" Gautama was not a thoughtless destroyer, nor a heedless and enthusiastic opponent of all, that was orthodox and ancient..... He denounced caste, because he found it mischievous and believed it to be a late and corrupted form of ancient Brahmanism. He proclaimed the fruitlessness of Vedic rites, because he found them as then practised to be silly, meaningless forms, attended with needless cruelty to animals and loss of life " (Anc. India Vol. I. p. 296 ff).

Rhys Davids says:—"Gotama was regarded by the Hindus of that time as a Hindu.....We should never forget, that Gotama was born and brought up and lived and died a Hindu. His teaching, far-reaching and original as it was, and really subversive of the religion of the day, was Indian throughout." Further up the same writer thus concludes:—" Buddhism is essentially an Indian system. The Buddha himself was, throughout his career, a characteristic Indian. And whatever his position as compared with other teachers in the west, we need here only claim for him, that he was the greatest and wisest and best of the Hindus" (Buddhism, its History and Literature, pp. 116, 117).

R. Chanda's arguments on this point are quite conclusive. He says: —" The accepted view that Gautama Buddha was born a Hindu is based on traditions and legends, enshrined in such canonical works, as the

Mahâvastu, *Divyâvadâna* and *Lalita Vistara*. and non-canonical works like *Ashvaghosha's Buddha-charita* and the Pali *Nidânakathâ*. These works agree in representing Suddhodana (father of Buddha) as a Brâhmanist. A Brâhman named Udayana was his Purohita (domestic priest). Ten days after the birth of the future Buddha, we are told in the *Buddha-charita* (I-88, 89), Suddhodana 'offered for his son most elaborate sacrifices to the gods with muttered prayers and oblations,' and gave to the Brâhmans cows full of milk. According to the *Mahâvastu*, when the child first entered Kapilavastu with his mother, he was taken to the temple named *Sâkya-vardhana* for bowing to the feet of the goddess Abhayâ. (अभयाये देवीये पादवंदनं). In the *Divyâvadâna*, the temple (देवकुलं) is called *Sâkyavardha*. In the *Lalita Vistara* it is said, that the temple contained the images of Siva, Skanda, Nârâyana, Moon, Sun, Vaishravana, Shakra, Brahmâ and the Lokapâlâs. If one chooses to ignore these traditions, while crediting others like the next-of-kin marriage practised by Buddha's ancestors, anything can be proved about him." (R. Chandra's Indo-Aryan Races pp. 241-242.)

According to Vincent Smith "Buddhism was a sect of Hinduism unknown beyond very restricted limits .....When Asoka accorded to it his invaluable support, it was but one of the many sects struggling for existence and survival." (Hist. of India pp. 167 8).

Cardinal Truths of Buddhism.

The four cardinal truths,* enjoined to be practised by Buddhism were:—

(1). Life is suffering. (2). The cause of suffering is thirst after life. (3). The conquering of that thirst leads to cessation of suffering, and (4) The extinction of that thirst can be achieved by a holy life. (Mahâvagga I-6 quoted in Anc. India Vol. I. p. 343, 355). Mr. Ganga Prasad points out, that these truths occur repeatedly in books of Vedic religion and philosophy. For example, in the Nyâya Sutras (I, 2) we read :—दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिथ्याज्ञानानाम् उत्तरोत्तरपाये तदनन्तरापायाद् अपवर्गः। "Of suffering, attachment (to life), evil motive and false knowledge, the extinction of one leads to the extinction of that, which precedes it; and the extinction of suffering is the *summum bonum*."

Commandments of Buddhism.

According to *Dhâmmika Sutra* the five commandments, which are obligatory on all Buddhists are:—

(1) Not to kill living beings; (2) Not to take what is not given; (3) Not to speak falsehood; (4) Not to drink intoxicating drinks and (5) Not to be unchaste.* Dutt says: "these (commandments) were suggested by Vasistha's five *Mahâpâtakas* or great sins. (Anc. India Vol. I. p. 358). Ganga Prasada tracing them to the five *yamas* or rules of conduct, mentioned by Patanjali† in his Yoga Sutra. (II-30) [अहिंसासत्यास्तेय-ब्रह्मचर्य्यापरिग्रहा यमाः। "Not to kill animals, not to speak falsehood, not to commit theft, not be unchaste, not to indulge in sensual pleasures, are the rules of conduct,"] concludes thus:—"Buddha did not preach any *new* religion or

* The four Truths or the four words of truth are:—दुःख "pain" समुदय "origin" निरोध "destruction" and मार्ग "road" (Dhammapada Chap. 20 § 273; S. B. E. Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 67). Elsewhere the four holy truths are given thus:—Pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain and the eight-fold (way that leads to the quieting of pain. Dhammapada Chap. 14 § 91 S. B. E. Vol. I Pt. I. p. 52).

* See S. B. E. Vol. 10 Part II-p. 66.

† It might be argued that Patanjali was probably a later writer. The answer is that such Sutras must have been in existence long before Patanjali's time; the Brahmans would not borrow any dogma from their enemies the Buddhists, who had chucked up Hinduism.

any *new* truth. He only repudiated certain evils, which were no part of true Vedic religion. Buddhism, therefore (by which we have to understand the noble precepts taught by Gautama), is based on Vedic religion." (See Sacred Books of Hindus Vol. IV. p. 155; Fountain Head of Religion pp. 54 62.)

Parallelisms.

As regards the various parallelisms we will at once admit, that our religion may have exercised some influence on Buddhism. There is no religion in the world, which has not exercised some sort of influence on another religion, which came after it. It is well known, that Buddhism exercised some influence on Christianity, and the latter on Mahomedanism. Buddhism sprang up directly from the Vedic religion—such is, as we have seen, emphatically the opinion of Max Muller, Dutt, V. Smith, Ganga Prasad and others. It is therefore our duty to be cautious, and see whether the parallelisms cannot be traced back in the ancient Hindu scriptures.

Zoroastrian Influence.

The influence of the Zoroastrian religion on Buddhism, however slight it may have been, has to be acknowledged. The temptation of Buddha by the evil spirit *Mâra* may have been borrowed from the Zoroastrian books, in which we read about the temptation of Zarathushtra by the evil spirit. Spiegel thought, that this was the *single* borrowing from a Persian source, although Max Muller held a different opinion, even as regards this influence. But as Max Muller has not adduced proofs, we are not inclined to accept his view.

We have come across another parallelism, which is not found in Hindu books and which we give subject to correction. In the Hâdokhta Nuska we read that after the death of a pious man, his good actions assume the form of a beautiful damsel, who comes to receive him on his way to heaven. Similarly in the Dhammapada (verse 220) we read:—"There do his good works receive him, who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other, as kinsmen receive a favourite on his return." We must admit that this parallelism is not so complete, as we would wish it to be.

Chakravartin and Shri Ideas.

Kharenangha or kingly glory has been compared with the *Chakravartin* idea of the Buddhists. It might be, as well, compared with the idea of *Shri** or Lukshmi in the Mahâbhârata. We are told, that "the Asuras† were originally just, good and charitable, knew the Dharma, and sacrificed, and were possessed of many other virtues. And therefore, *Shri* the goddess of prosperity dwelt with them during Yugas from the beginning of the world. But afterwards, as they multiplied in numbers, they became proud, vain and quarrelsome; they infringed the Dharma and neglected to sacrifice.....As they had thus changed their nature, *Shri* forsook them." (M. Bh. XII-8268ff. Fausball's Indian Mythology p. 20. M. Bh. Vana Parva Chap. 94. M. Bh. Santi Parva Chap. 228 § 20ff).

Region of Light and 33 Gods.

It is stated, that according to the Zoroastrian as well as the Buddhist religions, the heaven was the "region of eternal light." Do we not read in the Rigveda, that the heaven

* Cf. Skandagupta's inscription at Junagar where we read क्रमेण बुध्या निपुणं प्रधार्य ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान् गुणदोषहेतून् व्यपेत्य सर्वान् मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रान् लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयांचकार ॥

"Luxmi, having with a firm mind well considered the causes of good and bad qualities, rejected one after another, sons of kings, and at last married him herself." (B. B. R. A. S. Journal VII. pp. 122, 128).

† That is, Daityas and Dânavas.

is a place (यत्र ज्योतिरजस्रम्) "where there is ever-lasting light" (Rv. IX-113-9).

Dr. Spooner observes about the त्रयस्त्रिंश् or Buddhistic heaven of 33 gods, that "this number thirty-three in application to the gods is also Zoroastrian. It occurs to be sure in the Rigveda also, but in India the idea is less prominent in Hindu works than in the Buddhist." We regret, we cannot subscribe to this. We should think, that the idea is more prominent in the Hindu scriptures. More than half a dozen passages can be quoted to show, that in the Rigveda, we have mention of 33 gods. (See Rv. I-34-11, I-45-2, I-139-11, III-6-9, VIII-28-1, VIII-30-2, VIII-39-9, IX-92-4). If these are not enough, we can quote instances from the Black Yajur Veda (I-4-10-1), the White Yajur Veda (XIV-31), the Atharva Veda X-4-27, X-7-13, 23), Shatapatha Brahmana (4-5-7-2. 14-16-3), Aitareya Brahmana (I-2-10, III-22), Vishnu Purana,* Râmâyana (I-41), and Mahâbhârata.† Dutt rightly observes, that "Gautama adopted the popular belief in the Hindu Pantheon—*the 33 gods of the Rigveda*, and Brahmâ and the Gandharvas." (Anc. India Vol. I. p. 356).

Doctrine of Future Prophets.

As regards the doctrine of future millennial prophets, which we come across in the Zoroastrian and Buddhist scriptures, we may say, that it is found in the Hindu books also. The ten incarnations or *avatârs* of Vishnu are referred to in the following verse :—

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहश्च वामनः।
रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्की तथैव च॥

"Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, Parashurâma, Rama, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki" (are the 10 Avatârs).* Of these the first nine appeared in archiac and ancient times, but Kalki is still to come. In his tenth and last *avatâra*, Vishnu will appear as the destroyer of the wicked and liberator of the world from its enemies. This is to take place at the end of the four Yugas. Jayadeva thus refers to the Kalki *avatâra* in *Gitagovinda* —I10 :— म्लेच्छनिवहनिधने कलयसि करवालं धूमकेतुमिव किमपि करालम्। केशव धृतकल्कि शरीरं जय जगदीश हरे॥ "O Keshava, at the destruction of the multitude of the Mlechhas, you will wield the dreadful sword, which is like a comet. O Hari, lord of the world, may you be successful having got the body of Kalki." It will be seen, that Kalki will perform a function similar to that of our Sosiosha. (See Fravardin Yt. § 129, also Garuda Purana p. 62, Note by Earnest Wood).

Nature Rejoiced at Zoroaster's and Buddha's Births.

An important comparison is seen in the fact, that all nature rejoiced at the birth of Zoroaster and that of Buddha.

Now it is well known to students of comparative religion, that glowing and miraculous accounts are found as quite usual about the births and lives of prophets, apostles and important personages. We are not therefore surprised at the resemblances of the birth-accounts of Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ and Râma. We shall quote a few passages from the Râmâyana :—

Râma was born on the 9th day of Chaitra, when :—

> The moon within that mansion shone,
> Which Aditi looks kindly on,
> Raised to their apex in the sky,

* See Wilson p. 123. These were 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, 12 Adityas, Prajapati and Daksha.

† Adi Parva Chap. 66 § 37.

* Bhâgvata Purâna gives 22 incarnations; of these the last two, Buddha and Kalki, are to come in the future (see also Muir's Sk. Texts IV p. 156).

Five brilliant planets * beamed on high,
Shone with the moon, in Cancer's sign,
Vrihaspati with light divine.
(Râmâyana Bk. I. Ch. 19).

Prof. Griffith says, that the poet intended to indicate the vernal equinox, as the birth-day of Râma; for, Chaitra is the first of the two months assigned to spring. We thus see, that Râma was born in the commencement of spring; and such was also the case with Zarathushtra.

The birth of Buddha was presided over by the *Pushya Nakshatra.*† The birth of Bharata, the brother of Râma, was presided over by the same constellation Pushya, as we read in the Râmâyana (Bk. I. Ch. 19).

The Archangels Vohuman and Asha conveyed Zarathushtra's Fravashi, which united with the Khureh in his mother's womb. Dr. Spooner supposes, that these Ameshaspents were the archtypes of Brahma and Indra, which loom largely in the bas-reliefs of the birth of Buddha. He adds, that "even the words Vohuman and Brahma are to be connected." We however fail to see any connection, because the Sanskrit word वसुमनस् is the exact equivalent of the Avesta word *Vohumanangh.* This point, however, is immaterial. But what shall we say about Asha-vahishta and Indra? They are certainly the enemies of each other, as we see in the Vendidad and Bundehishna. (Vend. XIX-43. Bund. I-27, XXX-29). At the birth of Zarathushtra, the god Indra and several other devas were terrified and they tried to find out means to kill him (Vend. XIX-43/46). We thus see, that the analogy entirely fails here.

Turning to the Gâthas (Ha XXIX) and Bundehishna (Chap. IV.) we see, that a council of the Angels is held under the presidentship of Ahuramazda, in which Geush Urvan —the world's soul—complains of the calamities and miseries on this earth, and implores the heavenly spirits for help. Ahuramazda shows to Geush Urvan the Fravashi of Zarathushtra, which was created long before his birth, and says, that Zarathushtra will be sent as a prophet to remedy the evil.

A similar story is seen in the Râmâyana. At the sacrifice of Dasharatha, (father of Râma)—Vishnu, Indra, Maruts and all the holy gods assemble and complain to Brahmâ, the ruler of the sky, about the torments of Râvana thus:—

That lord of giants fierce and fell,
Scourges the earth, and heaven and hell,
Mad with the boon, his impious rage
Smites saint and bard and god and sage.

Then Vishnu said, that he would divide himself into 4 parts; half of his self would take birth as Râma, one quarter as Bharata, and one quarter as Luxman and Shatrughna.

Then Vishnu, fain on earth to dwell,
Bade the Almighty Sire farewell,
And vanished, while a reverent crowd
Of gods and saints in worship bowed (Griffith's Tr. Ramayana I, Ch. 14-15-19).

Don't we see very close resemblance in the two stories?

A better parallelism is however found in the Bhâgavata Parâna, for which I am indebted to my friend Mr. K. E. Punegar. The poet says:—"The goddess Earth, being oppressed by the heavy load of tens of thousands of Daitya hosts, who were born as arrogant kings, sought the

* Aditi is the lady of the lunar mansion *Punarvasu.* The five planets and their positions are given thus:—the Sun in Aries, Mars in Capricorn, Saturn in Libra, Jupiter in Cancer and Venus in Pisces.

† Ganga Prasad's Fountain Head of Religion (p. 51).

shelter of Brahma. She took the form of a cow, and with tears running down her cheeks, piteously related her grievances to the Lord Creator. Brahma carried the complaint of the cow to Vishnu, and the result was the avatarship of Shri Krishna" * (Study of Bhagavata Purâna by P. N. Sinha p. 245).

No doubt Purânas are later productions, but it is easy to see, that the Hindus would be the last men to borrow ideas from their religious enemies the Buddhists.

Let us proceed further. Raghu-Vamsa, the well-known poem of Kâlidâs gives us genuine tradition and semi-historical account of Râma and his ancestors. The three wives of Dasharatha, who had become pregnant at one and the same time, saw in their dreams, that their own persons were protected by angelic beings, that they were carried in the sky by the Garuda of golden wings, that they were waited upon by *Luxmi*, and that they were worshipped by the seven holy Rishis (Raghu Vamsa X-59, 63).

Now does not this *Luxmi* resemble *Khureh*, which encircled Zoroaster, and *Mâyâ* which grasped Buddha? Do not the angelic beings remind us of the archangels, who attended on the infant Zoroaster, and the gods Indra and Brahmâ, who waited upon the infant Buddha?

The author further tells us, that the infant Râma was of unrivalled lustre. He outshone the lamps in the lying-in-chamber. At the birth of Râma, the four quarters breathed freely, as it were, by means of the breezes, that were free from dust. Fire and the sun, who were oppressed by the Râkshashas became freed from grief—the one on account of his being smokeless, the other on account of his clearness. The fortune of the Demon shed drops of tears. The gods played on the musical instruments in heaven, and the all-yielding Santânaka tree poured a shower of flowers in the palace of the king Dasharatha (Raghu Vamsa X, 66-67).

Does not all this show, that nature rejoiced at the birth of Râma, just as it did in the case of Zarathushtra and Buddha? What ground have we to say that the Zoroastrian religion influenced Buddhism in this matter and that the Hindu religion did not do so?

Buddha & Zoroastrianism.

The theory, that Gautama Buddha was a Zoroastrian, is indeed astounding. One point would strike every Avestan student. As we are told, that the Sâkyas, the ancestors of Buddha, were Zoroastrians, Buddha must have been a Zoroastrian from his birth. Now it is argued by some scholars,* that the Gautama of the Fravardin Yashta was Gautama Buddha. If so, we see that a born Zoroastrian had questioned the truth of his own religion, and had invented quite a new faith; in other words, he was the first apostate, and such a circumstance would have been handed down to posterity in indubitable terms.

Doctrine of Karma.

The theory of transmigration or rather of Karma might here claim a few words from us. Gautama Buddha held, that after the death of any being, there survived nothing at all but that

* C. V. Vaidya points out that.—"The usual story of Avataras given in the Puranas, namely, that the Earth, oppressed, goes to Vishnu in the form of a cow to implore for redress, and he comes to life together with all the deities of heaven for the purpose of destroying her oppressors is found in the Mahâbhârata in a nucleus form. In Chapters 65 and 66 of the Bhishma Parva it is stated that Brahma, surrounded by Rishis and gods.....praised Vishnu, the Supreme Being, and implored him to be born for the deliverance of the earth. Vishnu thereon was pleased and promised to grant his request.'.....In Chapter 167 of the Adi Parva, the oppressed Earth goes to Brahma, who directs all gods to go down to the earth and be born as mortals. They then all go to Narayana and Indra implores him to be born on the earth &c. (See Vaidya's Mahâbhârata pp. 40-43).

being's Karma, the result of its mental and bodily action, and that every individual was the last inheritor and the last result of the Karma of a long series of past individuals. We read, for instance, in the Buddhist Sutras, that "after death the wrong doer is reborn into unhappy state, and the well doer is reborn into happy state." The Dhummapada (verse 325) says: "when a man becomes fat and a great eater, a sluggard rolling this way and that,..... again and again does that fool enter the womb." In the Sutta Nipâta (verse 647), the writer "calls him a Brâhman, who sees through heaven and hell, and who has reached the end of births." In the Sotâpattisanyutta," men are said to be reborn in purgatory, animal kingdom, and condition of ghosts, gods and men."

Now the question is whence was this theory borrowed by the Buddhists. There is certainly no such theory in our scriptures. According to Rhys Davids "the Aryans did not bring a belief in transmigration with them in India, and this doctrine is entirely absent in the Vedas." We however find traces thereof in the Rigveda (X-16), which may have been later interpolations. Anyhow in the Upanishadas (600 B. C.) the theory suddenly appears in perfect completeness. For example in the Chhândogya Upanishada (V-10) we read: "Those whose conduct has been good, will quickly attain a good birth as a Brâhman, Kshatriya or Vaishya." Similarly in the Kaushitaki Upanishada it is stated that "all who depart from this world go to the moon.....In the dark fortnight the moon sends them into new births... and they are born as worms, grasshoppers, fishes, birds, lions, boars, serpents, tigers, men &c. according to their deeds and knowledge." Buddha and his followers adopted this theory with the modification, that they added the doctrine of the *eternity* of transmigration. (Rhys Davids' Origin and Growth of Religion, Buddhism pp. 92, 106, 107, 236,80, 73, 83).

Thus then this important theory of Buddhism was certainly not borrowed from the Zoroastrians.

Moral Triad in Buddhism and Hinduism.

We have done with Dr. Spooner's important arguments, so far as Buddha is concerned. But our learned friend Mr. G. K. Nariman has adduced some more arguments, which arrest our attention. In our religion there are constant references to the moral philosophy contained in the Triad of *Humata*, *Hukhta* and *Hvarshta*. "Good thought, good word and good deed" or the opposite thereof. There are similar references in the Buddhist scriptures. For example, in the Dhammapada (XXVI verse 391) a Brâhman is thus defined:—"He who commits no sin by body or speech or mind, and is restrained in the three respects–him I call a Brâhman."* Now was this moral triad peculiar to the Zoroastrians and the Buddhists? Not at all. We come across the triad in the Hindu scriptures also. Here is a passage from the Brâhmana of the Yajur Veda:—

यन्मनसा ध्यायति तद् वाचा वदति ।
यद् वाचा वदति तत्कर्मणा करोति ।

"What a man contemplates in thought, he speaks in speech; what he speaks in speech, he does in deed."†

In the Manusmriti we read:—

शरीरजैः कर्मदोषैर्याति स्थावरतां नरः ।
वाचिकैः पक्षिमृगतां मानसैरन्त्यजातिताम् ॥

(Manu XII. 9) "Man attains the (fixed) condition (of vegetables and minerals) on account of his faulty

* See also Dhammapada VII § 97 where we read:—"His thought is quiet, his word and deed are quiet" (S. B. E. Vol 10-pt. I. p. 28.) Cf. Kâlavagga XIII-7.

† Quoted in Fountain Head of Religion by Ganga Prasad p. 168. See also Muir's Sk. Texts Vol. I, p. 81.

actions arising from the body; the condition of birds and quadrupeds on account of his (faulty) *speech*, and the lowest condition on account of his (faulty) *thoughts*."

In Garuda Purâna Sâroddhâra (III-12) we read:—चारास्ते धर्म राजस्य मनुष्याणां शुभाशुभं। मनोवाक्कायजं कर्म सर्वं जानन्ति तत्वतः॥ "Those followers of the King of Justice (Yama) know accurately all the virtues and vices of mankind, and the Karma born of mind, speech and body." (Also see idem VIII-36, VIII-59, X-47).

In Bhagvad Gita XVIII-15 we have:—शरीरवाङ्मनोभिर्यत्कर्म प्रारभते नरः "Whatever action a man begins to do by his body, speech and mind" &c.

Prof. Max Muller's remarks on this subject are quite convincing. He says:—"That this very natural threefold division, thought, word and deed, the *trividha-dvâra* or the three doors of the Buddhists was not peculiar to the Buddhists or unknown to the Brâhmans, has been proved against Dr. Weber by Prof. Koppen in his 'Religion des Buddha' I. p. 445. He particularly called attention to Manu XII, 4-8; and he might have added Mahâbh. XII, 4059, 6512, 6554, 6549; XIII, 5677 etc. Dr. Weber has himself afterwards brought forward a passage from the Atharva-Veda VI-96-3 (यच्चक्षुषा मनसा यच्च वाचा उपारिम), which however has a different meaning. A better one quoted by him from the Taitt. Ar. X-1-12 (यन्मे मनसा वाचा कर्मणा वा दुष्कृतं कृतं).* Similar expressions have been shown to exist in the Zend-Avesta and among the Manichæans. There was no ground, therefore, for supposing, that this formula had found its way into the Christian liturgy from Persia; for, as Prof. Cowell remarks, Greek writers, such as Plato employ very similar expressions." (S. B. E. Vol. X pt. I. p. 29 note).

* "What evil deed was done by my mind, speech or deed."

Killing Noxious Creatures.

Another parallelism is, that both in our religion and Buddhism there are injunctions to kill noxious creatures.* A similar commandment was also in vogue among the Vedic people. In the Rigveda (I-191-15) we read:—

इयत् तकः कुषुम्भकः तकं भिनद्मि अश्मना।
ततो विषं प्रवावृते परावीरनुसंवृतः॥

"The poison-insect is so small; I crush the creature with a stone; I turn the poison hence away, departed into distant lands." This stanza is a part of the hymn, in which venomous reptiles, insects, scorpions, aquatic worms and noxious creatures, lurking in grass, cow-pens, houses etc. are made to vanish by spells and charms. Under these circumstances we cannot say with certainty, whether the Buddhistic moral triad and the commandment to kill noxious creatures were borrowed from the Zoroastrian or the Hindu religion.

Temptation by Evil Spirit.

Now as to the temptation of the prophets by an evil spirit Prof. Max Muller observes:—"We are not surprised, that Buddha should be represented as having been tempted by an evil spirit called Mâra, for, such temptations form an inevitable element in the lives of saints and founders of every religion."

Further up the same writer says:—"'At the incarnation of Buddha a great light appeared, the blind received their sight, the deaf heard a noise, the dumb spoke one with another, the crooked became straight, the lame walked &c.' But such phrases are found in the Rig-veda also. Thus in Rv. II-15-7 'the lame stood, the blind saw, Indra did this in the joy of Soma.'

* Mr. G. K. Nariman quotes a passage from the Pali Jâtaka in J. R. A. S. 1912 p. 256.

In Rv. VIII-79-2 the same miracle is ascribed to Soma himself: 'Soma covers what is naked, he heals all that is weak; the blind saw, the lame came forth. In Rv. I·112-8, the Ashvins are said to have helped the blind and lame to see and to walk.' If the ancient Vedic gods could do this, it was but natural, that the same miracle in almost the same words should be ascribed to Buddha." (Max Muller's Physical Religion pp. 390-394).

Dr. Spooner's Letter in the Bengalee.

Dr. Spooner has restated his theory in a modified form in a letter published in the *Bengalee* of Calcutta, dated 11th March 1916. In this letter he says:—"I do not say, that either Chandragupta or the Buddha was a Persian in our modern sense. I say, they were members of a body of Aryans, who came into this country at a date subsequent to the arrival of the first Aryan immigrations, when sufficient time had elapsed for the Vedic Hindus and their Iranian cousins to have developed differences of faith."

Dr. Spooner then proceeds to sum up his evidences thus:—"When the Linguistic Survey of India shows us, at that time beyond all explanation, that the Aryan languages of North India fall into two groups; when the Prakrit grammarians assert, that the (obviously Iranian) dialect of Balkh was integral part of Mâgadhi; when the language of these Outer Band Districts display Iranian characteristics, when excavation at Patliputra discloses pottery with the Persian fire-altar emblazoned on it, as well as a group of palaces agreeing in minute detail and even in grouping with the complex of Persepolis; when the *Prabodha-chandrodaya* tells us, that Magadha was a country peopled mostly by foreigners; and when the present population of Bihar shows such a number of admittedly Sâkadvipin Brâhmans, is it so wholly preposterous to suggest, that this region must have been settled by an Iranian body in prehistoric times"?

If by the expression "A Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" Dr. Spooner means that the Zoroastrians *settled* in India in prehistoric times, we have nothing to say against his abovesaid conclusion, although the premises might be easily challenged; but that is evidently not his meaning, when he calls the Mauryas Zoroastrians, and Chandragupta Maurya a Persian, (J. R. A. S. 1915 pp. 413, 417), and uses such expressions as "the first imperial rulers of India were Persians, &c." (p. 421 idem).

R. Chanda's Reply.

Dr Spooner's premises have been challenged by R. Chanda in his book named "the Indo-Aryan Races" (p. 220 ff) from which we propose to give a brief summary with our remarks.

(1) The classification of the Aryan languages of Northern India into two groups was never regarded as beyond all explanation. One of the explanations put forth by Dr. Hœrnle and adopted by Sir George Grierson is as under:—

The *Midland* extended from the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhya Hills on the South, and from Sarhind in the Eastern Punjab on the West to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna on the East. Round it lay the *Outer Band*, which included the modern Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Râjputâna, Oudh and Bihar. Now a comparison of the modern vernacular shows that the dialects of the Outer Band are more closely related to each other than the dialect of the Midland. It appears, that at an early period there must have been two sets of Indo-Aryan dialects—one for the Midland and the other for the Outer Band. From this it is argued that the inhabitants of the Midland represent the latest stage of Indo-Aryan immigration. The earliest arrivals spoke one dialect and the new-comers another.

Dr. Haddon thinks, that some members of the Alpine race from the highlands of South-West Asia came into India in pre-historic times.

[**Note**:—In his review of R. Chanda's book Dr. Keith disputes both the theories given above. He says:—"The theory of Dr. Spooner, which sees in the outer people, descendants of Magian immigrants, is decisively rejected; but in place of Magians are supplied men of the physical type of the *Homo Alpinus*, the original inhabitants of the Pamirs and the Takla-Makan desert, as determined by the investigations of Mr. Joice, speakers of Tocharian, an Indo-European but not Indo-Iranian speech.....It cannot be too often and too clearly asserted, that the two invasion hypothesis of Dr. Hœrnle and Sir Grierson has not the slightest support whatever in the Vedic literature. It has clearly no secure support in the Prakrits..... It has therefore to depend on theories as to the modern vernaculars, *i.e.*, deductions are to be drawn for the period 1500–1200 B. C. from our imperfect knowledge of the comparative development of these tongues in the last five centuries or so."] (J. R. A. S. 1917 pp. 167-175).

(2) Among the languages of the Outer Band, the modern languages of Bengal, Behâr, Assam and Orissa owe their origin to Mâgadhi Prâkrit. A glance at the tables given by Dr. Muir in his Sanskrit Texts Vol. II. will show, that Prâkrit and Pâli languages display Indian peculiarities to a very great extent.

(3) The Persian pottery and the Persipolitan style of the Mauryan palaces disclosed by the excavations at Patliputra should be attributed to the Persian architects employed by the Mauryas, and not so the natives of Magadha, whose ancestors are supposed to have come from Iran.

(4) *Prabodha-chandrodaya* is a Sanskrit drama written about the latter half of the eleventh century A. D. * It contains a statement, that "Magadha was mostly inhabited by *Mlechhas*" (म्लेच्छप्राया:). But the Mlechhas could not necessarily be the Persians. In the Bhavishya Purâna Noah is called a Mlechha, Moses an Achârya of the Mlechhas and Mahomed the Preceptor of the Mlechhas. They were not Persians. The word Mlechhas was undoubtedly used in the sense of "foreigners."

(5) The Sâkadvipin Brâhmans are also known as Bhojaka or Maga Brâhmans, as we have already seen.

Thus then the data submitted by Dr. Spooner are easily disputed.

Facts Brought out by Dr. Spooner.

But notwithstanding all, that we have said above, we must say, that we Zoroastrians would be failing in our duty towards Dr. Spooner, if we did not appreciate his arduous work both literary and archæological. We must acknowledge our indebtedness to Dr. Spooner for bringing into prominence the following facts, namely—that a few centuries before Christ, the Persians fought in India for their Mauryan masters, that their masses lived as subject-races in Northern India long before the Arab conquest of Persia, that their leaders were made chiefs and even petty Râjâs, and that their masons had probably a hand in the erection of the Mauryan palaces after the style of the Persepolitan halls.

Note on Nahapana (pp. 14-15)

V. Smith says:—"The arrow and thunderbolt of Nahapâna's coins connect him with the Parthians, and the northern Satraps Hagâna and Hagâmasha." "Nahapâna is a good old Persian name." (Cat. Coins in I. M. Vol. I. p. 195; J. R. A. S. 1906 p. 211).

* See Epigraphia Indica I. p. 220.

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